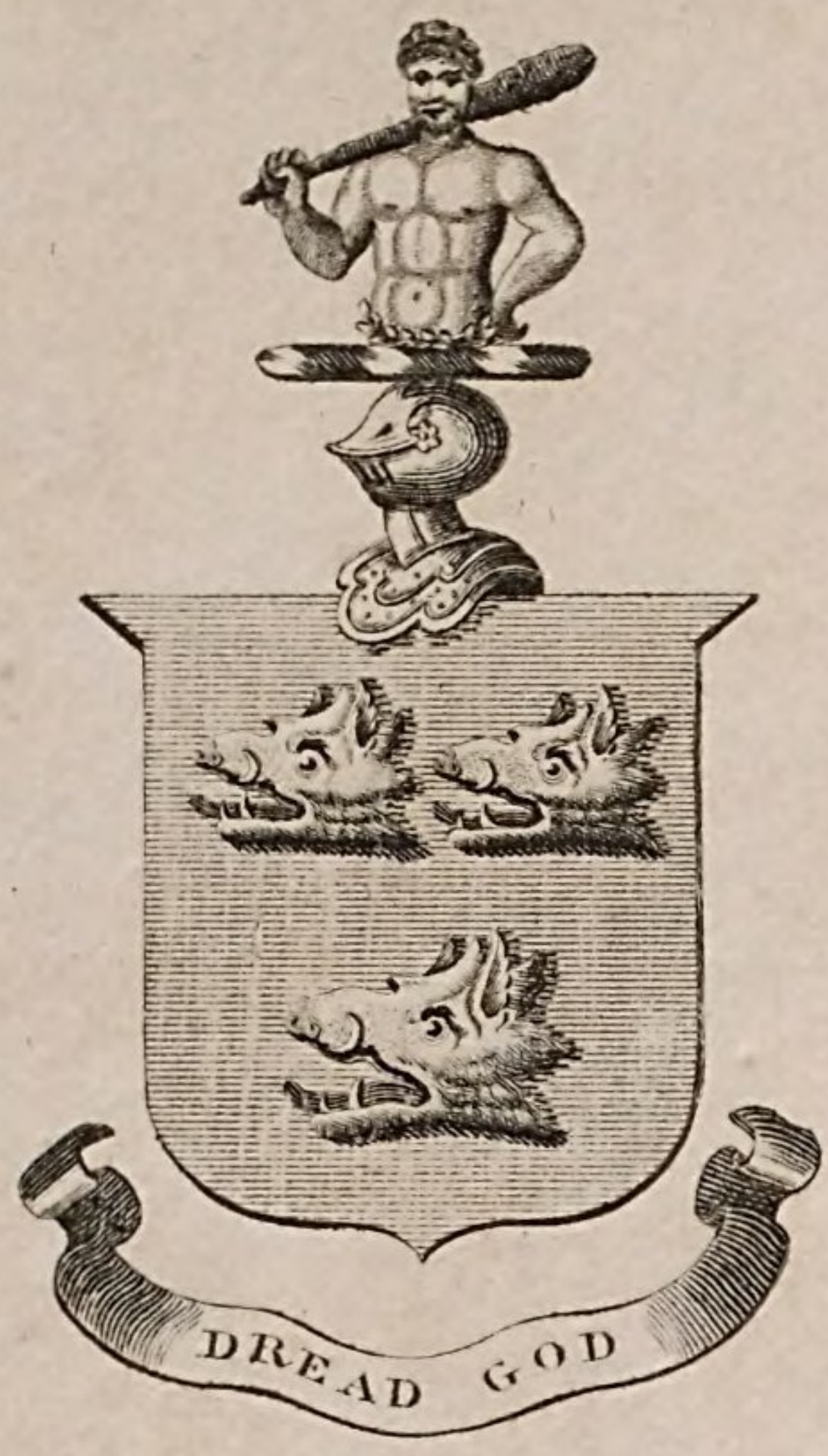

CAPT^N. GORDON,

Royal Navy.

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A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

IN

A SERIES OF LETTERS

FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON.

A NEW EDITION,

CONTINUED TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE THE THIRD.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

TWO LETTERS

ON THE STUDY AND BIOGRAPHY OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN BRITISH HISTORIANS.

VOL. II.

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1821.

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Mr Moss from
Capt. Gordon with his
best wishes —

Balmaghie House
1st March - Tuesday
1836

THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

LETTER LXIII.

If we seek for the origin of the war which now began to threaten universal devastation, we shall find it kindling up in several countries, both of Europe, America, and Asia, at one and the same time. Most other national contests have arisen from some one principal cause: but this war seems to have been produced by the concurrence of several; or it may be considered as the continuance of the late war, which had not been effectually extinguished by the defective treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

In Asia, upon the coast of Malabar, the English and French had never ceased hostilities. The claims of Prussia and Austria, upon the territories of Silesia, had however been thoroughly adjusted. The limits of Nova Scotia, inhabited by the English, and bordered upon by the French, were never precisely determined; and, southward, the boundaries of Arcadia, an extensive country belonging to the French, and bordering upon Virginia, were equally left uncertain. Negociations had long been carried on to determine these differences; but what could reason do in determining disputes in which there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of these countries had never been settled; for they were, before this time, thought too remote or too insignificant to employ much attention: and it was not probable, that powers, who had no

other right to the countries in dispute but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree upon sharing the spoil.

The right which any of the contending powers pretended to, might, in the eye of reason, be thought very controvertible; but the convenience which either party was to derive from the enjoyment of their peculiar claims was not so uncertain. As the dissensions seemed to begin in North-America, we must turn to that country to consider their rise. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry and long perseverance, rendered that soil, naturally barren, somewhat more fertile, and capable of sustaining nature with very little assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until the English were acknowledged as the rightful possessors by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country, in any other nation, would expose our colonies to perpetual invasion, and assist them in acquiring a superiority in commerce, and the northern fisheries. It has been already observed, that we had an infant colony upon that coast, which was chiefly supported by royal bounty, and struggled with all the disadvantages of the severe climate, and the ungrateful soil. But it had an obstruction to its growth still more formidable than either. The French, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, continually spirited up the Indians to repel the new comers; so that some of them were actually murdered, or sold to the French, at Louisburgh. These violations were complained of, and complaint produced recrimination; so that the two powers of France and England were negociating with, accusing, and destroying each other all at one time.

Now also began to be observed another source of dispute, which promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French, pretending first to have discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country toward Mew Mexico on the east, and quite to the Apalachian mountains on the west; and finding several Englishmen, who had settled beyond these mountains, both from motives of com-

merce, and invited by the natural beauties of the country, they drove them away, and built such forts as would command the whole country around. It was now, therefore, seen that their intentions were to surround the English colonies, which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements; and being already possessed of the northern and southern shores, thus to inclose us on every side, and secure to themselves all trade with the natives of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that, if the French were able to unite their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Missisippi, they must, in time, become masters of the whole territory; and, by having a wide country to increase in, would soon multiply, and become every year more dangerous.

The government of England, having long complained of these incroachments, determined, at length, to repel force by force, and to cut the knot of negociation, which they could not untie. Orders were despatched to the governors of the provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to their cause. The Indians were a fierce savage people, unacquainted with the arts of peace, and from infancy trained to the practice of war. It had long been the method of the English to cultivate their friendship in times of danger, but to slight their alliance in circumstances of tranquillity: this, in some measure, served to alienate their affections from our government; but the fraud and avarice of our merchants, particularly of that called the *Ohio Company*, who sold them bad merchandises, and treated them with equal insolence and perfidy, served to confirm their aversion. Besides, there was something in the disposition of the French settlers in these regions more similar to their's: the French, like the natives, were hardy, enterprising, and poor; they naturally, therefore, joined with those allies, from conquering of whom they could expect no plunder; and declared against the English colonists, who were rich, frugal,

and laborious, and whose spoils they consequently were the more desirous to share.

Thus then the English had not only the French, but almost the whole body of the Indian nations to oppose: yet this confederacy against them did not give a greater union to the different provinces, whose interest it was to oppose. Some of the provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or little advantages to expect from victory, declined furnishing their share of the supplies; the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had come from their native country to retrieve them by acts of rapacity and oppression here, were so much dreaded or hated, that they lost all influence in inspiring the colonists with a proper spirit of defence. The ministry, however, at home, began to exert itself for their defence, and their measures were hastened by hostilities already commenced; there having been, for some time, a skirmishing between general Lawrence to the north, and colonel Washington to the south, with parties of the French, in which the latter were victorious. It would be tedious, as well as uninforming, to relate all the preparations that now began to be made by either party; or to load this account with barbarous names and unimportant marches; or to recount the alternate victories and defeats of either side: be it sufficient to observe, that they seemed, in some measure, to have imbibed a ferocity of manners from the savage people with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of reprisal or cruelty.

Four operations were undertaken by the English at the same time: one commanded by colonel Monckton, to drive the French from the encroachments they had made upon the province of Nova Scotia; another, on the south, against Crown Point, under the command of general Johnson; a third, commanded by general Shirley, against Niagara; and a fourth, still further to the south, against Du Quesne, under the conduct of general Braddock. In these respective expeditions, Monckton was successful; Johnson victorious, though without effect; Shirley was thought dilatory, and his expedition deferred to an-

1756.

other season: but the fortunes of Braddock are so extraordinary as to require a more ample detail. This general was recommended to this service by the duke of Cumberland, who was justly sensible of his courage and knowledge in the art of war. These two advantages, however, which, upon other occasions, are thought the highest requisites of a general, were, in some measure, conducive to this commander's overthrow. His courage made him obstinate; and his skill in war was improper to be exerted in a country where there were no regular advances to be made, nor a marshalled enemy to encounter. This brave but unfortunate man set forward upon this expedition in June, and left fort Cumberland on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where colonel Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the French at Fort du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men; he therefore resolved, with all haste, to advance, and attack them before they became too powerful by this assistance. Leaving, therefore, colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit, he marched forward with the rest of his army through a country equally dangerous from its forests and savage inhabitants; a country where Europeans had never before attempted to penetrate; wild, solitary, and hideous. Still, however, he advanced with intrepidity through the deserts of Oswego, regardless of the enemy's attempts, taking no care previously to explore the woods and thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the less regardless he was of danger. At length, on the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of Fort du Quesne, which he intended to attack, and the next day he resumed his march, without so much as endeavouring to get intelligence of an enemy he despised. With this confidence he was marching forward, his soldiers promising themselves a speedy cessation from their harassing march, and all things seemed to promise success; but upon a sudden his whole army was astonished by a ge-

neral discharge of arms, from an unseen enemy, along the front and left flank. It was now too late to think of retreating; his troops had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted before they attempted to fire. His vanguard, therefore, fell back, in consternation, upon the main body; and the panic soon became general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself, at their head, discovered the greatest intrepidity, and the highest imprudence: he never thought of retreating, but obstinately continued on the spot where he was, and gave orders to the few brave men who surrounded him to form according to the rules of war, and regularly advance against the enemy. An enthusiast to the discipline of the field, he desired to bring the spirit of a German campaign into the wilds of the Nigara. In the mean time his officers fell thick about him, while he still continued to issue out orders with composure, though he had five horses shot under him, and though the whole body of his troops was fled. At length, receiving a musket-shot through the lungs, he dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army, were left to the enemy; the general's cabinet of letters also shared the same fate. The loss of the English, in this unhappy surprise, amounted to seven hundred men; and the remainder of the army, some time after, returned to Philadelphia. It was in this manner the expedition of general Braddock terminated, from which England had expected such advantages. In all actions that excite the applause and admiration of mankind, a part of their success is owing to conduct, and a part to fortune. Of the latter, Braddock was totally forsaken; he was unsuccessful, and the ungrateful world are unwilling to grant him the former.

Thus unfortunate were the beginnings of this war, with regard to England: it was resolved, therefore, that no measures were now to be preserved with the French; and orders were given to take their ships wherever found, though there was yet no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied; so that soon the English ports were filled with ships taken from the

enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves of in America. The French complained loudly against the injustice of this proceeding: they represented it to the rest of Europe, as a breach of that faith which should be observed among nations, as a piratical measure, disgraceful to the most savage people. Their memorials were answered by the English, with some show of reason. However, it must be owned, that, as a declaration of war was a ceremony easily performed, it would have been more consistent with the honour of the ministry to have pursued the usual methods of contest which had been long established in Europe. The truth is, the ministry were now divided between peace and war; they saw the necessity of vigorous measures, but they were afraid to throw off the mask of peace entirely. Henry Pelham, who had long guided at the helm of affairs with candour and capacity, had for some time been dead, and his place supplied by sir Thomas Robinson, who, though a sensible minister, and a favourite of the king, was of no great weight in council, and, consequently, soon under a necessity of resigning; and Mr. Fox was put in his place. The administration was also new-formed in other respects, by the taking in several other new members. Those who had long been in the ministry were, it is thought, for peace; those, on the contrary, who were newly taken into the direction of affairs, expected to supplant their rivals by an opposite system, and were consequently for war. The leader of this party, therefore, warmly solicited for war, seconded by the justice of the cause, and the general voice of the people; those who opposed him expected to effect by negociation all that arms could achieve. Whatever might have been the motives for protracting the declaration, the French seemed to convince Europe of their moderation upon this attack, by neither declaring war nor making any reprisals. However, they threatened England with a formidable invasion: several bodies of troops moved to the coasts adjacent to ours; their ministers exclaimed loudly in foreign courts; and such preparations were made, as showed a resolution of carrying the war into the heart of Great Britain.

These preparations had the desired effect, filling the nation with consternation, turbulence, and clamour. The people saw themselves exposed, without arms, leaders, or discipline, while the ministry were timid, unpopular, and wavering. In this situation the Dutch were applied to for six thousand men, which, by treaty, they were to send England, in case of its being threatened with an invasion; which demand, however, by affected delays, was put off so long, that the king, unwilling to come to an open rupture with the republic, desisted from it; for which they returned his majesty thanks. Such are the advantages England is to expect from relying on assistance from any other quarter than its native strength and unanimity: and every day seems to convince us of the absurdity of political alliances, which are never observed, as wanting friendship to bind, or force to compel.

In this timid situation the ministry were eager to catch at any assistance; a body therefore of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand, were brought over to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who, with swords in their hands, were able to defend themselves: but such was the vile complexion of this period, that the whole kingdom presented nothing but one picture of discontent, terror, and distrust. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such circumstances of disgrace, as to be thought to stand in need of preservation from a few German mercenaries: but what could be expected from such a ministry, who were possessed neither of the arts nor the integrity of government.

However, the French were by no means serious in this intended descent: their only design was to draw off the attention of the English ministry from an expedition, which was actually going forward, against Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, which we had formerly taken from Spain, and had been secured to us by repeated treaties. But the ministry of England were too much infected with the more domestic terror to take sufficient precautions to guard this place, though they had early notice of the enemy's intentions. Instead, therefore, of sufficiently securing the island with

a proper garrison, or of detaching a squadron, that, in all respects, should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, they only sent ten men of war upon this service, poorly manned and indifferently provided, under the command of admiral Byng, whose character in the navy was by no means established, with orders to reinforce the garrison of St. Philip with one battalion from Gibraltar: this command, however, the governor of that place thought it unsafe to obey.

The admiral sent upon this service reinforced his fleet by a detachment of men at Gibraltar; and, sailing toward Minorca, was joined in the way by another man of war, from whom he learned that Minorca was actually besieged, and the French fleet destined to support the operations by land. He soon knew the reality of this information: when approaching the island, he saw the French banners displayed, and the batteries opened against the castle of St. Philip, upon which was still displayed the English flag. The appearance of the French fleet, soon after, still more strongly engaged his attention; he drew up his ships in line of battle, and determined to act upon the defensive. Byng had been formerly thought eminent in naval operations, to which he was early bred; but he had hitherto exhibited no proofs of courage. Men are generally most apt to pride themselves upon those talents for which they are most praised: and this was the case with this unfortunate commander; he sacrificed his reputation for courage, to the hopes of being applauded for his conduct. The French fleet advanced; a part of the English fleet engaged; the admiral still kept aloof, giving prudent reasons for his remissness in coming to action; till, at length, the French admiral, taking the advantage of the Englishman's hesitation, sailed slowly away to join the van of his fleet, which had been already discomfited. The English for a while continued the pursuit; but the opportunity of coming to a close engagement was now lost, and never presented itself again.

Byng was still resolved to act with his usual caution: he called a council of war, wherein it was represented, that he was much inferior to the enemy in ships and

men; that the relief of Minorca was impracticable; and that it was most advisable to sail back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. This representation was almost unanimously agreed to, and put accordingly in execution. His pusillanimous conduct, however, soon reached his native country, where it excited almost a phrensy of resentment. The ministry were also thought to fan the flame, which served to turn the public eye from their own misconduct in sending so weak an armament. Byng, in the mean time, remained at Gibraltar, no way suspecting the storm that was gathering at a distance; but talked and wrote even as if he expected the thanks of his king, and the applause of his countrymen: but he was soon awakened from his dream, by a letter from the ministry, giving him notice, that he was recalled; and another, soon after, by which directions were given that he should be sent home under arrest. Upon his arrival in England, he was committed a close prisoner to Greenwich Hospital, and numberless arts used to inflame the populace against him. Long before his trial, several addresses were sent up from different countries, crying out for justice against the delinquent. The industry of his friends, however, was not remiss upon this occasion; they expostulated with the multitude, and attempted to divert the whole of universal hatred upon the ministry, who, at worst, only deserved a share. But, soon after, the news of the surrender of Fort St. Philip to the French inflamed the people beyond all measure. This fortress had been reckoned, next to Gibraltar, the strongest in Europe, the works having been planned by the celebrated Vauban; and, both from the nature of the soil, which was one solid rock, and the peculiarity of the situation, it was thought almost impregnable. In order to make themselves masters of this important fortress, the French, under the command of the duke de Richelieu, landed nearly twenty thousand men, who, by continual assault, and having gained an outwork, at last made themselves masters of the place. The English governor, general Blakeney, however, had very honourable terms of capitulation, and marched out with all the ensigns of war.

Yet, perhaps, in truth, the harder the conditions a garrison is obliged to accept, the more honourable it is to the commander, as they denote his extremity in being reduced to accept of them.

The English now saw themselves every where defeated: in America, their armies were cut in pieces; in Europe, their garrisons taken; the people trembling under the dread of an invasion; a few mercenaries brought in for their defence, who, in their turn, became formidable to the natives: all these circumstances concurred to exasperate the people; but there was no object on whom to wreak their vengeance, but the unhappy Byng, who, in a manner, was already voted to destruction. War was now declared with the usual solemnity, though it was now but a denunciation after having struck the blow. The Hanoverians were sent back to their own country, and the preparations were made for trying admiral Byng in the usual form. On the twenty-eighth day of December, his trial began before a court-martial in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a scrutiny of several days, his judges came to a resolution, that he had not done his utmost, during his engagement, to destroy the enemy, which it was his duty to have engaged. They, therefore, were unanimously of opinion, thut he fell under the twelfth article of war, which positively ordered death to any person, who, in the time of action, should withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who should not do his utmost, through either motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection. He was, therefore, adjudged to be shot on board whatever ship the lords of the admiralty should please to direct: but his judges, at the same time, recommended him to mercy, as they could not tell the motives of his keeping aloof. By such a sentence they expected to have satisfied the national animosity against him, and yet to have screened themselves from the consciousness of severity. Whatever the government might wish to do, is uncertain; but the cry of vengeance was too loud to be disregarded: his majesty therefore referred the sentence to the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal; wherefore the king re-

solved that he should suffer the extremity of the law. Still, however, there was another attempt made to save him: one of those who had been his judges at Portsmouth, and who was also a member of the house of commons, informed that assembly, that he, as well as some others, who had sat upon the admiral's trial, desired to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed upon admiral Byng, and perhaps discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper. To this the house paid little regard: but his majesty thought fit to respite the execution till the scruples of the court-martial should be more clearly explained. A bill therefore passed the house of commons for releasing them from their oath: but when it came to be debated among the lords, and after the members of the court-martial were examined touching their reasons, the peers found no reason for passing the bill, and it was rejected. The admiral, being thus abandoned to his fate, resolved at least by the bravery of his death, in some measure, to show the injustice of the imputation of his being a coward. He maintained to the last his natural serenity: and, on the day fixed for his execution, when the boats belonging to the fleet, being manned and armed, attended the solemnity in the harbour, the admiral advanced from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, to the deck, the place appointed for execution, with a composed step, and resolute countenance. He then delivered a paper, containing the following address:

"A few moments will now deliver me from virulent persecution, and frustrate the malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life subject to the sensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create. Persuaded I am, that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter. The manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me, will be seen through. I shall be considered a victim, destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think me innocent. Happy for me, at this my last moment, that I know my own innocence, and am

conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the shedding of my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country; but I cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty, according to the best of my judgment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am sorry that my endeavours were not attended with more success; and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of such moment. Truth has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my personal want of courage, and the charge of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these crimes: but who can be presumptuously sure of his own judgment? If my crime is an error of judgment, or differing in opinion from my judges; and if, yet, the error of judgment should be on their side, God forgive them, as I do; and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which, in justice to me, they have represented, be relieved and subside, as my resentment has done. The supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives; and to him I must submit the justice of my cause." When he had delivered these words, he came forward, and resolved to die with his face uncovered: but, his friends representing that his looks might possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with a handkerchief, and kneeling upon the deck, the signal was given for the soldiers to fire, and he dropped down dead in an instant.

How far this unfortunate man was innocent or culpable, cannot be easily discerned in a mist of opinions supported by the prejudices of faction: if he erred in point of judgment only, it might have been a proper cause for his dismission; but it would have been cruelty to condemn him for it. Those who pleaded with the greatest vehemence against him appeared, however, to bring their arguments from the necessity there was of making some one commander an example, to give greater resolution to the rest, and from the good effects that seemed to attend his execution, by our repeated successes after it. These, however, are such reasons

as may silence, but not satisfy: and it is to be hoped that no persons will exultingly triumph in the *end*, where the *means* cannot be justified.

LETTER LXIV.

EUROPE has often been compared to one republic, obeying one law, namely, that of nations; and composed of provinces, each of which is prevented from becoming too great by the universal jealousy of the rest. A quarrel therefore between any two of these is apt to involve the whole in war; but, particularly, if the dispute happens to arise between those who are reckoned the leading powers in this assemblage of nations. A war, begun between France and England, for a desert and tractless wild in the remote parts of America, seemed now spreading fast through the whole world; and the appearance of their commotions revived all the ancient jealousies and claims among the rest.

The French, at the breaking out of this new war, though they were successful in its commencement, were very sensible that they could not long hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English were possessed of at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries of war. Being therefore apprised that a naval war must, in the end, turn out to their disadvantage, they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge the injuries they sustained in their colonies, or by sea, upon the king of England's territories in Germany, which they secretly hoped would be a motive to his complying with their demands, or dividing the English forces, or draining their finances with heavy subsidies, as they knew his affection for his native country. In these hopes they were not much disappointed: the court of London immediately, to secure the electorate of Hanover, entered into a treaty with the empress of Russia, by which a body of fifty-five thousand men should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded; for which

the Russian empress was to receive a hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

His Prussian majesty had long considered himself as the guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at this treaty. The monarch upon the throne was Frederic II, a prince adorned with all the arts of peace, and whom you have seen also acting as the most consummate general. He had learned to read men, by being himself bred in the school of adversity; and to love his subjects, by having experienced their attachment. He therefore took the first opportunity to declare, that he would not suffer any foreign troops to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprised of some secret negociations between the Austrians, whom he looked upon as concealed enemies, and the Russians, for entering his dominions, and stripping him of the province of Silesia, which had been conceded to him in the last treaty of peace. His Britannic majesty, whose fears for Hanover guided all his councils, now saw himself in the very situation he most dreaded, exposed to the resentment of France and Prussia, either of which could at once invade and over run his electorate, while his Russian allies lay at too great a distance to assist him. However, all he wished was to keep the enemy out of Germany; and this the king of Prussia made a profession of doing as well as he. From the similitude of their intentions, therefore, these two monarchs were induced to unite their interests: and as they both only desired the same thing, they came to an agreement to assist each other mutually, in keeping all foreign forces out of the empire. 1757.

From this alliance both powers hoped great advantages: the preserving the peace of Germany was the apparent good; but each had other peculiar benefits in view. The king of Prussia knew the Austrians to be his enemies, and the Russians to be in league with them against him; an alliance therefore with the court of London kept back the Russians, whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of taking an ample satisfaction from Austria, whom he suspected. As for France,

he counted upon it as a neutral ally, which, from the long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, could not, by declaring against him, join them to whom they had such various reasons for political aversion. The elector of Hanover, on the other hand, had still stronger expectations of the benefits that would arise from this alliance. He thus procured a near and powerful ally; an ally which he thought the French, in their present circumstances, would not venture to disoblige; he counted upon the Austrians as naturally attached to his interests by former services and friendship; and the Russians, at least, as likely to continue neuter, from their former stipulations and subsidy. Such were the motives to this alliance; but both were deceived in every particular. And though this alliance astonished Europe at that time, it soon produced another connection still more extraordinary. The Austrian queen had long meditated designs of recovering Silesia, which, in her exigency, the king of Prussia had invaded, and expected the assistance of Russia to effect her purposes. By this last treaty, however, she saw England joining with Prussia in frustrating her hopes; and, deprived of one ally, she sought about, in order to substitute another. She therefore applied to France; and, to procure the friendship of that power, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages acquiring with its blood and treasure. By this extraordinary revolution, the whole political system of Europe assumed a new face, and it pretty clearly shows that events guide the politician, while the politician seldom guides events; or, to use the words of Tacitus, there is but very little difference between the art and its fatality.

In the mean time, this treaty between France and Austria was no sooner ratified, than the empress of Russia was invited to accede to it; which proposal she ardently embraced. By concurring with their proposals, Russia had another opportunity of sending her forces into the western parts of Europe, which was all she had hoped by the subsidiary treaty with England. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what this fierce northern power long wanted an opportunity

of obtaining; for, possessed of that, she could then pour in fresh forces at any time upon the more effeminate and contending states; and perhaps, at length, obtain universal empire. The intrigues of France were also successfully employed with Sweden. A war between that nation and Prussia was kindled up, though contrary to the inclination of their sovereign, who had the natural motives of kindred for being averse to that measure.

Thus all the alliances which England had long been purchasing upon the continent, and many of the treaties which she had been long making, with all the bustle of negociation, were at once destroyed. The forces of the contending powers, therefore, now drawn out on each side, stood thus: England opposed France in America and Asia; France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe: this country the king of Prussia undertook to protect, while England promised to furnish him with troops and money to assist his operations. On the other hand, Austria had designs upon Prussia, and drew the elector of Saxony into the same pursuits: she was also seconded in her views by Russia, Sweden, and France; while the rest of the powers of Europe continued spectators of the contention.

These designs of Austria, for the recovery of her lost dominions, were too apparent not to be early discovered by so vigilant a monarch as that of Prussia: he saw that preparations were making against him by that power in Bohemia and Moravia; while the elector of Saxony, under the pretence of a military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which occupied the strong fortress of Pirna. The secret treaty also between the courts of Russia and Austria did not escape his penetration: by this it was privately stipulated, that the treating powers should, in case of apprehending any breach of the present peace, unite against Prussia, and share the dominions of that crown between them. This he considered as an offensive alliance: the treating powers alleged, that it was only defensive. As preparations for war, however, were carrying on with the utmost diligence on either side, the king of Prussia, in order to be confirmed in what he already

suspected, ordered his minister at Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances concerning the preparations he saw making. He at first received an equivocal answer; but ordering his minister to demand a categorical reply, whether the empress-queen was for peace or war, and to require a positive assurance that she had no intention to attack him that year or the next, an ambiguous answer was returned, to so plain a question, which undoubtedly manifested an inclination for war. He therefore thought proper no longer to suspend his operations, but to carry the war into the enemy's country, rather than to wait for it in his own. He entered with a large army into Saxony, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the elector a passage through that country, which he well knew the possessor of it was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised all his suspicions of the elector having secretly treated with his enemies; and, upon the latter proposing to observe a strict neutrality, he professed himself extremely pleased at the offer; but desired, as a proof of the sincerity of the elector's intentions, to separate the army of the electorate, for which there could possibly be no occasion in case of the neutrality proposed. This, however, the elector of Saxony thought prudent to refuse, which was probably what the other eagerly desired; for, in consequence of his refusal, the king formed a kind of blockade about the Saxon camp, in order to reduce it by famine: for such was the situation of this spot, on which the Saxons had encamped, that, though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended leaving it that served to render it inaccessible to an enemy. Of this his Prussian majesty took the advantage; and, by blocking up every place of egress, cut off their provisions, and the whole body was obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

In a detail of the transactions of England, it will not be necessary to recapitulate the numerous marches, victories, sieges, and repulses, of this great foreign ally. Whatever either former history had shown, or even romance might feign, was outdone both by his

expedition and intrepidity. King only of a very small territory, assisted by England, whose situation was too remote to give any considerable succours, opposed and surrounded by all the most formidable powers of Europe, he still opposed them on every side; he invades Bohemia, defeats the Austrian general at Lowoschtch, retreats, begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but, by a temerity inspired by former successes, attacking the Austrians at a disadvantage near Kolin, he is defeated, and obliged to raise the siege: "For-" tune, (says he,) has turned her back upon me this day. " I ought to have expected it; she is a female, and I " am no gallant. Success often occasions a destructive " confidence; but another time we will do better."

One misfortune seemed to follow another: the Hanoverians, who had joined with him and England in the alliance, had armed in his favour, commanded by the duke of Cumberland. As this army, which consisted of three thousand eight hundred men, was greatly outnumbered by the French, they were obliged continually to retire before them. The passage of the river Weser might have been disputed with some hopes of success; yet the Hanoverians permitted them to pass it unmolested. Their army, therefore, was now driven from one part of the country to another, till, at length, it made a stand near a village called Hastenback, where it was judged it would be best able to sustain the superiority of the enemy's numbers. However, notwithstanding all the efforts of discipline, and the advantages of situation, the weaker side was still obliged to retire; and, leaving the field of battle to the French, retreated toward Stade. By taking this route, they marched into a country from which they could neither procure provisions, nor yet had an opportunity of attacking the enemy upon equal terms. Unable, by their situation, to retire, or, by their strength, to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole army laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable treaty, which went by the name of the treaty of Closter Seven, the Hanoverians were quite

subdued, and all the French forces let loose upon the king of Prussia together.

The situation of this monarch was now become desperate; nor could human prudence foresee how he could extricate himself from his distress. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side; the Russians, who for some time had hovered over his dominions in another part, all at once hastened onward to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty. A large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau, and, turning to Schweidneitz, sat down before that important fortress, which after a long siege surrendered. Another army of the same nation entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and, pressing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution. Twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. It was in vain that the king of Prussia faced about to every invader, though his enemies fled before him: while he pursued one body, another penetrated his territories in the mean time; and his dominions, even in the midst of victory, were every day contracting. The greatest part were either taken or laid under contributions, and possessed by his enemies; and he was left without any alliance or assistance, but what the British parliament might think proper to afford.

These succours could, at best, have been, for some time, but ineffectual: however, it was resolved by the English ministry, that something should be done, and accordingly an enterprise was planned against the French coast, which, by drawing off their attention from Prussia, might give it time to respire, and call off a part of the French to defend themselves. Beside this intention, England also hoped to be able to give a blow to their marine, by destroying such ships as were laid up or building in the harbour of Rochfort, the city against which this expedition was destined. The English ministry kept this object of their operations a profound secret; and France was filled with alarms, till at length it was found that the fleet ap-

peared before Rochfort, where it spent some time in deliberating upon what manner to proceed. At last it was resolved to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, which, while performing, the militia of the country had time to assemble, and there was an appearance of two camps upon the shore. The commanders, therefore, who, by the badness of the weather, were, at first, prevented from landing, now feared equal danger from the numbers of the enemy which were to oppose them. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had to prepare for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness for any other methods to reduce it but that of a sudden attack. This consideration induced them to desist from further operations; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any attempt. Nothing could equal the discontent of the English, upon seeing this expedition, of which they had conceived such expectations, return unsuccessful. It produced, as usual, a contest between those who planned, and those who were sent to execute it. The military men represented it as useless and rash; the ministers exclaimed at the timidity and delays of those from whose vigour success was to be expected. A court of inquiry censured the commander; but a court-martial acquitted him. This, like almost all the former operations, served to embitter party, and increase despondence. A great man was even heard to say, upon a very solemn occasion, that he believed the commanders of every military operation were resolved upon doing nothing. The tumult of the people was now sunk from turbulent clamour into sullen discontent; they saw only gloomy prospects on every side; their armies destroyed, their fleets inactive, their expeditions ridiculous, and the only ally they had left in Europe, that would fight their battles, upon the point of being overwhelmed by superiority of numbers. Such were the beginnings of this war, from which the timid foreboded national servitude, and a total destruction of all maritime power; and even the most sanguine only hoped for a peace that might restore them to former equality.

LETTER LXV.

SUCH was the ill success of the English arms, and of their allies, at the beginning of this war. Every day the press teemed with productions, which either reproached their cowardice, or foreboded their undoing. Yet still the hopes of the parliament rose with their disappointments, and every resource seemed to augment with their expenses. Though the supplies for this destructive and hitherto-shameful war were enormous, yet they were raised as soon as granted. The officers of the army seemed roused into vigour by national reproach. Asia was the country in which success first began to dawn upon the British interest, and where we first learned the art of again conquering the enemy. A war in Europe could not be proclaimed between the two great powers, without being felt in the remotest parts of the globe. This immense tract of country, which was the theatre of an Asiatic war, comprehends the whole peninsula of Hindostan. On the coasts of this great territory, the English, the French, and several other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who claims the sovereignty of the whole empire. Whatever his right may be to this dominion, his power is scarce felt or acknowledged in many of the remoter provinces; and even the governors, or nabobs, who were originally of his appointment, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority, either by tribute or homage. In their contests, therefore, these princes, instead of having recourse to the Mogul for address, apply to the European powers, whom they can either purchase or persuade to assist them. The war between England and France, in these remote parts, first began by each power siding with two contending nabobs, and thus, by degrees, becoming principals in the dispute. The success on each side, for some time after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, seemed doubtful, till, at length, the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendency, by the courage and conduct of

Mr. Clive, a gentleman who first entered into the service of the Company as a clerk, but soon showed his talents more adapted for war. By his vigilance and courage, the province of Arcot was cleared of the enemy, the French general taken prisoner, and the nabob, whom the English supported, reinstated in the government of which he had been formerly deprived. The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority, in this part of the world, sent over a commissary, with a view to restore peace; and a convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing, that the territories taken on either side, since the last peace, should be mutually restored; that the nabobs advanced by the influence of either party, should be acknowledged by both; and that, for the future, neither should interfere in the differences between the princes of the country. This cessation, however, was not of long duration; compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when there is a prospect of advantage to either side from their infraction. In a few months after, both sides renewed their operations, no longer as auxiliaries, but as rivals in arms and commerce. What the motives to this infraction were, are not sufficiently known: wherever there is trade, there must be a degree of avarice; and that is a passion too often the parent of injustice and cruelty. Certain it is that the viceroy of Bengal, from motives of personal resentment, declared against the English, and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of their forts, which was in no situation to endure the attack even of barbarians. It was taken by assault; and the garrison, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons, were crowded into a narrow prison, called the *Black Hole*, about eighteen feet square, without any entrance for air, except by two iron windows to the west, which by no means afforded a sufficient quantity for the supporting life in such numbers. In such a burning climate, it is terrible to conceive the situation of wretches thus immured and suffocating each oth Their first effort, upon finding the danger of their horrid confinement, was to break open the door; but this

being impossible, they endeavoured to excite the compassion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance in removing them to separate prisons, with which he was not able to comply, as the viceroy was asleep, and no person durst disturb him. They were now therefore left without hopes of relief to perish; and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest, and confusion. This turbulence soon after sunk into languor and despair; and toward morning all was horrid silence and desolation. Of a hundred and forty-six, who had entered alive, twenty-three only survived, and of these several died of putrid fevers upon being set free.

The reduction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous success of the English company; but the fortune of Mr. Clive still vanquished every obstacle. A fleet under the command of admiral Watson conspired with his efforts, and helped him in his victories. Angria, a piratical prince, who had long annoyed the Company's settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay, first felt the weight of our naval power. This prince maintained a large number of gallies, with which he would attack the largest ships, when he found a proper opportunity; and, by this means, he exacted a tribute from every European power for a permission to trade. To subdue such a dangerous enemy to commerce, admiral Watson and colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Gariah, though they sustained a warm fire as they passed, and soon threw all his fleet and his fort into flames. The next day the fort surrendered at discretion, where the conquerors found a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects, to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

From this conquest Mr. Clive went on to take revenge for the treatment of the English at Calcutta, and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. There was but small opposition made to the fleet, or the army, till they came before Calcutta, the scene of former cruelty; but as soon as the admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries. This, however, he returned with still greater execu-

tion, and in less than two hours the place was abandoned. Thus, by the conquest of this and the former fortress, the English became possessed of the two strongest settlements on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after these successes, Hughly, a city of great trade, was reduced, with as little difficulty, and all the viceroy of Bengal's storehouses and granaries destroyed. This barbarous prince, incensed at these losses, assembled an army of ten thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions. Upon the first intelligence of his march, colonel Clive begged of the admiral a reinforcement of men from the ships; and six hundred seamen were accordingly soon added to his little army. The numerous forces of the viceroy of Bengal appeared, and colonel Clive advanced in three columns to attack him. But, though the forces were so seemingly disproportioned, with respect to number, the victory soon declared in favour of the English commander. In fact, what could timid Asiatic soldiers do against European troops, hardened by war, and inured to all the vicissitudes of climate? All the customs, habits, and opinions, of the Asiatics tend to enfeeble the body and effeminate the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack, dressed in long silk garments, with no other courage than that inspired by opium, with no other fears from defeat but that of changing their mode of slavery; their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object for aim; their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious upon the slightest wound; every soldier utterly unacquainted with that cool intrepidity which provides against danger, and only taught to fight by the same arts that raise their passions;—if we consider all these circumstances, it will be no way surprising, if one or two thousand Europeans should easily discomfit thirty thousand Indians. And all the heroism of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in gaining such disproportioned victories, will no longer be the subject of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a foreign enemy, soon rendered the viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his sub-

jects at home. His present cowardice rendered him despicable; his former insolence and cruelty, odious. A conspiracy was projected against him by Ali-khan, his prime minister; and the English, having private intimations of the design, resolved to second it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, colonel Clive marched forward, took the town of Cutway in his march, and soon came up with the viceroy's army; and, after a short contest, put the whole to flight, with terrible slaughter. Ali-khan, who had first incited his master to this undertaking, had hitherto concealed his attachments, either through fear or perfidy; but, after this victory, he openly espoused the cause of the English, and was therefore solemnly proclaimed viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Orisa, in the room of the former viceroy, who was as solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his successor. The new viceroy was not insensible of the gratitude he owed the English, for their assistance in his promotion. He granted liberally all their demands, satisfied them even to the most extended wish of avarice, and took every method to demonstrate his pride in their alliance.

Yet not the Indians alone, but the French also, submitted to colonel Clive's assiduity and courage, seconded by the endeavours of the admirals Watson and Pocock. Chandenagore, a French settlement higher up the river than Calcutta, of great strength, and the most important of any possessed by that nation in the bay of Bengal, submitted to the English arms. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained was in the ruin of their head settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of India. Thus, in one campaign, the English, in some measure, became possessors of an immense tract of country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to many of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the Company and sufferers at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English forces became too formidable for resistance. Yet, perhaps, this remote power will, one day, either serve to drain from the

mother-country all its useful hands, or our victories will serve to teach the native barbarians to avail themselves of their numbers, and, by being frequently defeated, they will, at last, learn to conquer.

The success of the English was not a little alarming to the French ministry at home; and it is believed that even the Dutch themselves entertained some jealousy of their growing greatness. A considerable reinforcement was, therefore, sent from France, under the command of general Lally, an Irishman, who was reckoned one of the bravest, yet most whimsical, men in the French service. He had been, from his earliest years, bred a soldier of fortune, and carried the military spirit of honour to its utmost limits. Under his guidance the French affairs seemed, for some time, to wear a better face: he took fort St. David, plundered a town belonging to the king of Tanjour, in alliance with the English, and after laid siege to his capital. Failing in his design upon this city, he entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of our Company, upon the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important fortress, a greater variety of difficulties presented than he had expected. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while, on the other side, the French acted with the utmost timidity; it was in vain that their commander exhorted them to proceed: though a breach was made, and lay open for fifteen days, no one of them dared to venture to the assault. Beside this, they were ill supplied with provisions; and the arrival of a reinforcement in the garrison, soon after, served to banish all hopes of success. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege; and this miscarriage so entirely depressed the ardour of the enemy, that they appeared quite dispirited in almost every ensuing engagement. In this manner, therefore, their affairs went on declining, not less by land than by sea. There were several engagements between the two fleets, in which the French, though superior in number of ships and men, always declined a decisive engagement.

But the French were not the only enemies the English had to fear in this part of the world; jealousy of

the Dutch was excited by our repeated success, and the late extension of our power. Under a pretence of reinforcing their garrisons in Bengal, the Dutch equipped an armament of seven ships, which was ordered to sail up the Ganges, and rendered their fort, at a place called Chinsura, so formidable, as to be able to bid defiance to the power of Britain, and thus secure to themselves the trade for saltpetre, which this place afforded. The design, however, colonel Clive thought it incumbent on him, if possible, to defeat; and sending the Dutch commander a letter, he informed him that he could not permit his landing, and marching forces to Chinsura. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs as were imputed to him; and he only requested liberty to land his troops to refresh them, which was readily granted. He made these concessions, however, only till he knew that the ships, which were to second his operations, were come up the river; and then, throwing off the mask, he began his march to Chinsura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English, to retaliate for the affront he pretended to have sustained in being denied permission to proceed. Whether, upon this occasion, the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out to interrupt their progress, or was only pursuing its way homeward, is not clearly known; but certain it is, that the Dutch commander threatened to sink it, if it presumed to pass him. The English captain seeing them point their guns, as if they really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who instantly ordered the three Indiamen to prepare for battle. The Dutch fleet were not remiss in advancing to meet them. After a few broadsides, however, the Dutch commodore struck, and the rest of his fleet followed the example. The victory being thus obtained, without any loss to the English, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the prizes, which had greatly suffered, and the crews were sent prisoners to the English fort. In the mean time, their land-forces, which amounted to eleven hundred men, were totally

defeated by colonel Ford, sent upon that duty by Clive. A considerable part were killed, and the rest made prisoners of war. During this contest, the nabob preserved a suspicious neutrality, ready, as it should seem, to join with the conquerors. Fortune, however, no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he offered them his services, and professed himself ready to demolish the Dutch fortifications of Chinsura. This contest was represented in very different lights to the respective governments at home; the Dutch declaimed against the English oppressing all who attempted to trade in the Indies; while the English, on the other hand, reminded the Dutch of their former cruelties, and of their desire of gain, even at the expense of every moral obligation. However, soon after, a negociation ensued; the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were unable to withstand. A treaty was concluded, and peace was restored, seemingly to the satisfaction of both parties.

Our success against the French, on the coast of Coromandel, was not less conspicuous. Our troops were headed by colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, a man of prudence and bravery: he marched against general Lally; took the city of Wanderwash in his way; reduced Carangoly, a fortress commanded by colonel O'Kennedy; and, at length, came up with the French general, who was equally desirous of the engagement. It is remarkable enough, that the commanders on either side were countrymen; but this did not in the least abate their attachment to the different crowns they served. In the morning, early, the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury on both sides; the engagement continued with much obstinacy till about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled toward their camp; which, however, they as quickly abandoned, and left their cannon and the field of battle to the conquerors. Their losing the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory; and nothing now remained to them, of all their vast possessions in India, but Pondicherry, their strongest, largest, and most beautiful settlement. This capital of the French

Indian power, in the days of its prosperity, exceeded all other European settlements there, in trade, opulence, and splendour; and was still the repository of all the French wealth which remained after repeated defeats. As soon as the fortresses adjacent to this important place were reduced, colonel Coote sat down before it, resolved upon the blockade by land, while admiral Stephens shut up their harbour by sea.

A regular siege was, at that time, impracticable, from the periodical rains which in that climate were soon expected to obstruct such operations. These disadvantages were even sufficient to repress any attempts whatsoever; but, notwithstanding the inclemency of the climate, the English commander continued before the place for full seven months. Neither rains nor storms were in the least able to abate their assiduity; they continued the siege, and pressed the garrison in such a manner, that they were reduced to the most extreme distress. Lally, however, was resolutely bent on suffering every calamity rather than yield this last stake of French power in India; though his soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, and even bought such wretched provisions extremely dear, (eight crowns having been given for the flesh of a dog,) yet he still determined to hold out. In the midst of this distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been properly seconded. In the beginning of January, one of those terrible storms, which are common in those climates, but of whose violence we can have but little idea in Europe, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour of Pondicherry. This was a blow which once more elevated the hopes of the despairing garrison. The governor now flattered himself with the hope of being supplied with provisions; and once more animated his soldiers, long sunk by disease, famine, fatigue, and uninterrupted adversity. He immediately wrote to one of the French residents at a Dutch settlement for instant assistance; his eager impatience appears in the letter he sent: "The English squadron is no more, sir. Of the twelve ships they had in our road, seven are lost, crews and all; the other four dis-

masted, and no more than one frigate has escaped—lose not an instant in sending boats after boats, loaded with rice.—The saving of Pondicherry has been in your power once already; this opportunity neglected, the fault will be all yours. Offer great rewards.—In four days I expect seventeen thousand Marattas.—In short, risk all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time." This singular letter, however, was intercepted; and, in less than four days, he had the mortification to behold admiral Stevens again appearing in the harbour, who had repaired his losses with all possible celerity; and the blockade now became as complete as ever. Still, however, he made no proposal to surrender; while the siege was carried on by his countryman with redoubled alacrity; and, at length, he found his troops half consumed with fatigue and famine, a breach made in the rampart, and not more than one day's provision of any kind remaining. He was now reduced to an extremity that would admit of no hesitation; a signal was therefore made to cease hostilities: the principal of the jesuits, together with two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation. Lally, however, could not be prevailed upon to offer any terms: he sent a paper, filled with reproaches against the English, to colonel Coote; and alleged, that he would not treat with an enemy upon the honourable terms of war, who had already forfeited his honour in several instances. He therefore suffered the English troops to take possession of the place, but refused to surrender it in the usual forms. This conquest terminated the power of France in India: the whole trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, became our own. The princes of the country knew the English force, and learned to fear it. Since that time nothing considerable has been done against us. Our East-India company have become the arbiters of empire. The Mogul himself has been defeated and taken prisoner. The British empire begins to vie even with that of ancient Rome; the extent of its dominions on land is as wide, and its force at sea is infinitely greater.

LETTER LXVI.

VICTORY, which thus first dawned upon us from the East, seemed to extend even to Europe and America. But some steps led to these successes, which had been long wished for; and, at length, were effected. The affairs of war were directed by a ministry which seemed utterly unequal to the weight and importance of such a charge; they were but feebly held together among each other, and clamoured against by the united voice of the people. It had long been their method to rule by party; and, surrounding the throne, it was said, they attempted only to fill the royal ear with whatever suggestions they thought most to their interests. When any new measure was proposed, which could not receive their approbation; or any new member was introduced into government, whom they did not nominate; it was their method to throw up their places with a secret view of resuming them with greater lustre. Thus all hope of preferment was to be expected only from them; public favours were conferred only for private services; they were thought to govern in the senate and in the field: the strength of the crown was actually declining; that of the people was scarce any more; while aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne with pride, ignorance, and faction.

The state of the king and nation, at that time, was truly deplorable: the defeat of Braddock in America, the loss of Oswego, the delay of armaments, the absurd destination of fleets and armies, all served to reduce the people almost to a state of desperation, and brought addresses to the king from every part of the kingdom. The general voice was, at length, too loud not to reach the throne; and the ministry were, at length, obliged to admit some men into a share of the government, whose talents and integrity might, in some measure, counterbalance their own deficiency. At the head of these newly introduced were Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge; the former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the exchequer. The people had high expectations from their abilities, and, in the end, they were not disappointed.

The pleasure of the nation, however, was but of short continuance: a ministry composed of such jarring principles could not long continue united, being constituted of persons espousing different measures, and actuated by different motives. The old junto courted the sovereign's favour by their pretended attachment to his foreign dominions; the new clamoured against all continental connections, as utterly incompatible with the interest of the nation. Both, perhaps, might have been wrong; but it is obvious that these sentiments were sufficient to sink the latter in the royal esteem; and this dislike was artfully kept up, and increased by their old rivals in power. A few months, therefore, after Mr. Pitt had been put into office, he was obliged to resign the seals by his majesty's command; and Mr. Legge was dismissed from being chancellor of the exchequer. The old ministry now thought themselves secure in the unmolested possession of former power; but this very step which they took for their own security, turned out to them as unfortunate as those they planned for the public were unsuccessful. The whole nation seemed to rise up as one man in vindication of that part of the ministry that was lately excluded; and the king, at length, thought proper to comply with the general solicitation. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were again restored, and a train of successes soon began to dignify their designs. 1758.

For some time, however, the measures planned by the former ministry were pursued in America; and though the English were superior to the enemy, yet still they felt all the inconvenience of irresolute councils and ill-planned operations. Our women and children in that part of the world were exposed to the unparalleled cruelty of the Indian savages; and, what is still more remarkable, two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, continued tame spectators of these inhumanities. Bad success ever produces complaint on all sides; and England now heard nothing but invective and accusation. The generals sent over to manage the operations of war, loudly accused the timidity and the slowness of the natives, who were to unite

in their own defence; the natives, on the contrary, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, or incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who was appointed to that command, had been superseded by lord Loudon; and this nobleman soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations: the most important, being that designed against Cape Breton, was commanded by general Amherst. The taking possession of this island, and its fortress, was a conquest greatly wished by all our colonies, as it had always been a convenient harbour to the enemy, who thence annoyed our trade with impunity. It was also a convenient situation for carrying on their fishery, a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to the French nation. The fortress of Louisburg was strengthened with all the assistance of art; the garrison was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to prevent a descent. An account of the operations of a siege is tedious; be it sufficient to say, that the English surmounted every obstacle with the most amazing intrepidity; their former timidity seemed now converted into persevering resolution: the place was surrendered by capitulation; and our troops, long used to disappointment and repulse, began to boast of victory in their turn.

Two other operations were carried on in America at the same time; the one under general Abercrombie, against Crown Point and Ticonderoga; the other, more to the southward, against Fort du Quesne. The latter expedition was successful; but that against Crown Point and Ticonderoga was attended with the customary bad fortune. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds, by which nature had secured the French encroachments in that remote part of America. Braddock fell in the attempt: his rashness contributed to his defeat; and too much caution, perhaps, was the fault of his successor. Much time was spent in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give the English troops a warm reception. They were found intrenched under the fort

of Ticonderoga, behind a breastwork raised eight feet high, and still further secured by felling trees, with their branches pointing outward. These difficulties, however, the English attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued; and the general, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English army, however, was still superior to that of the enemy, and might, it was supposed, have gone onward with success, if supported by their artillery, which had not yet arrived; but the general felt, too sensibly, the terrors of the late defeat, to remain in the vicinity of a victorious enemy: he therefore reimbarked his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from which he had taken his departure.

The success of this campaign, however, was, upon the whole, greatly in favour of the English. The taking of Fort du Quesne served to remove from our colonies the terror of the incursions of the barbarians, and interrupted that continued correspondence which, by a chain of forts, one part of the French settlements had with the other. The ministry, too, discovered a spirit of vigorous resolution hitherto unknown in this part of the world; and the next campaign promised more brilliant success.

Accordingly, in the opening of the next session, the ministry seemed sensible, that a single effort, carried in such wide extended dominions, would never bring the enemy into subjection; it was therefore resolved to attack them in several different parts of this extensive country at once. Preparations were accordingly made, and expeditions went forward against three different parts of the northern continent of America. General Amherst, commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army; general Wolfe was, at the opposite quarter, to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in this part of the world; while general Prideaux and sir William Johnson were to attempt a

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fort near the cataract of Niagara. This last expedition was the first that was successful. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. This siege was soon commenced by the English; but general Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn; so that the whole of the success of the expedition fell to general Johnson, and his good fortune. He omitted nothing to promote the vigorous measures of his predecessor, but added all his own popularity. The French knew the importance of this fort, and attempted to relieve it. Johnson attacked them with his usual intrepidity and success; in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout, and the garrison, beholding the defeat of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. Nor was General Amherst less successful, though without meeting an enemy; in his march to Crown Point, he found both that fort and Ticonderoga deserted and destroyed. There now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North-America in possession of the English. This was the taking of Quebec, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders commanded the naval part of the expedition; that by land was committed to the conduct of general Wolfe. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly in the siege of Louisburg, a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, without being indebted to family or connections, had raised himself by merit to his present command. The war in this part of the world had hitherto been carried on with extreme barbarity. Wolfe, however, disdained these base proceedings, and carried on all the terrors of war with the humanity of a truly civilized European. A description of the siege of this city may instruct a soldier, but can scarcely inform a citizen; be it sufficient to observe, that its beginning appeared extremely unpromising to the besiegers, and repeated repulses even served to abate the hopes of the commander. "I know, (said he,) that the affairs of Great

Britain require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present the difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine." However, he resolved, though now sinking under fatigue and sickness, to make one vigorous attempt before he gave up all; and accordingly, in the night, part of his troops made themselves masters of a hill that commanded the town. A battle ensued: Montcalm, the French commander, resolved not to survive the defeat of his country; Wolfe, on the other side, resolved to conquer or die. Both commanders had their wish; both fell; but the English were victorious. The circumstances attending the death of Wolfe served to give an example like that of the noble Theban. He, in the beginning of the engagement, received a wound in the hand, which he dissembled, wrapping it round with his handkerchief to stop the effusion of blood: he advanced with unconcern: a second ball was more fatal; it pierced his breast, so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier, who was near him. Now, struggling in the agonies of death, and just departing, he heard a voice cry, *They run;* he seemed to revive a moment at the sound, and asking who ran, was informed the *French*: expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, *I die happy.* Perhaps the loss of such a man was greater to the nation than the conquering of all Canada was advantageous; but it is the misfortune of humanity, that we can never know true greatness till that moment when we are going to lose it.

The surrender of the city was the consequence of this victory, and, with it, the total cession of all Canada. The French, it is true, made in the ensuing season a vigorous effort to retake it; but, by the good conduct of our governor, the town held out till relieved by an English fleet, under the command of lord Colville. Thus did this campaign make ample reparation for all the losses that had been hitherto sustained by the English. The French had now no force capa-

ble of making any resistance; they held out the war now, not with hopes of victory, but honourable capitulation. One place after another was invaded: Montreal at last surrendered; and, in a short time, a country which their own writers have represented as being more extensive than the Roman empire, fell under the power of his Britannic majesty.

How far the extending dominion tends to the increasing the strength of a nation, is an object worthy consideration. The splendour of victory should never dazzle the eye of reason. No people ever could call their country powerful, if it were not populous; for political force depends upon the small frontier to be defended, and the vicinity of an army to every place to be invaded; but extended empire takes away both these advantages, and, before the soldier can traverse half his proper territories, his country may have felt all the horrors of invasion. Whatever joy therefore our country might have felt at these immense acquisitions of remote territory, I own it gives me no very pleasing prospect. The manufactures, the trade, and the riches, of these distant countries can never recompense for the continual drain of useful and industrious subjects, that must be derived from the mother-country to people them. Wherever the lower sort of people in any kingdom can fly from labour, they will be ready to go; yet upon the industry and valour of these alone, every kingdom must hope for security. Not the effeminate and the luxurious can defend their country in the day of battle; they may increase timidity by their example, but opulence can never give true relief. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were much more powerful before they divided their strength into all the torrid climates of Southern America. The state thus got rich, but lost men: they had gold, but could not regain industry. Thus are their nations now incapable of defending themselves against powerful foreign invasion. The immense wealth of the Indies, that every year comes home to their ports, goes to enrich a few: their subjects are either in the extreme of wealth or poverty: the rich have only slaves beneath them, who hate those for whom they must labour; the poor have

no acquisitions, nor property to defend; so that their armies are composed either of wretches pressed into the service, who only seek for opportunities not to fight, but to fly; or of men, rich and noble, courageous from pride, yet weak from luxury. Such is not, as yet, the case of England, nor will ever be, if a passion for conquest is not mistaken for national prosperity.

LETTER LXVII.

THE success of our arms in America was achieved by moderate efforts; on the contrary, in Europe, the efforts that were made, and the operations of our great ally the king of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no very signal effects. Safety was all that could be expected; and this was secured, contrary to all human expectation. You have just seen that monarch surrounded by enemies, the greatest and most formidable powers of Europe; you have seen almost the whole power of the continent united against and hovering over his devoted dominions; and the only allies that remained to him, bound by treaty, to retire and give him no assistance. In this terrible situation he still adhered to his fortitude, and, relying on his natural subjects alone, resolved never to abandon his claims. Such was the desperate condition of his affairs; yet they were still rendered more hopeless, when he was informed, that his only friend, the monarch of that generous people who had hitherto supplied him with money and stores, was going to forsake him, and leave him to irremediable ruin. It was thus he expostulated with the doubting monarch upon this occasion: "Is it possible that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake, and remember you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded

between us; but I intreat you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe." The French and Imperialists, after a successful summer-campaign, were at this time, which was the depth of winter, set down to the siege of Leipsic. His Prussian majesty dreaded the capture of this important city, and soon, unexpectedly, seemed to rise up before it. Such was the terror of his arms, even vanquished as he had been, that his approach raised the siege, and the French, though superior in number, retreated. He at length overtook them at a village called Rosbach, and gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction. The Austrians were, in another part of the empire, still victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, his generalissimo, prisoner. The king, after a dreadful march of two hundred miles, in the depth of winter, came up with them near Breslau, disposed his inferior forces with his usual judgment, and obtained another bloody victory, in which he took no less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and raised his allies to new hopes.

After the capitulation of Closter Seven was signed, between the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain of infractions. The Hanoverians accused the rapacity of the French general, and the insolent brutality of his soldiers; while the French retorted the charge of insurrection against them, and began to think of treating as a conquered enemy those whom they had only bound by treaty as neutrals. Treaties have never been preserved longer than interest or compulsion bound them; political faith is a word without meaning; the French oppressed the Hanoverians; the latter resumed their arms; and each side complained, as usual, of infraction. A general was not long wanting to assemble the collecting army. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswic put himself at their head, began skirmishing with success, and, at last, they were in a capacity of becoming formidable to their late victors. From this time the king

of Prussia fought the enemy upon more equal terms than ever; often victorious, sometimes repulsed; but ever active and formidable. To name his victories, the towns he took, the dangers he escaped, and the losses he suffered, would take up more time than I should choose to grant to such accounts, or you should bestow. Never was the art of war carried to such a pitch as by him. In this war, Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter; great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time since the days of heroism were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity shown. Armies now were considered as composing one single machine, directed by the general, and animated with one will.

England was, all this time, happily retired from the calamities which drenched the rest of Europe in blood; yet, from her natural military eagerness, she seemed desirous of sharing those dangers of which she was only a spectator. This passion for carrying on a continental war, was not less pleasing to the monarch from his native attachments, than to the people from their natural propensity to arms. As soon as it was known that prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic majesty, in a speech at the opening of the sessions of parliament, observed, that the late successes in Germany had given a happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons therefore granted liberal supplies both for the service of the king of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in the electorate of Hanover to act vigorously in conjunction with him. Soon after, it was considered that men would be a more grateful supply than money. The minister, who had first come into power and popularity by opposing such measures, was now prevailed upon to enter into them with even greater ardour than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to the war by vigorous measures, his connections, and, perhaps, the pleasure he found in giving his majesty pleasure, incited him eager-

ly into a continental war. It is certain no minister could more powerfully second a warlike monarch's intentions. That spirit of enterprise, which had, in a measure, taken birth with his administration, began to overpower all obstacles. The passion for military honour seemed diffused through all ranks of people; and it only wanted a channel in which to flow. In order to indulge this general inclination, the duke of Marlborough was sent into Germany, with a small body of British forces, to assist prince Ferdinand, where they behaved with bravery, and conspired in promoting that prince's successes. Each victory they gained, however, only served as a pretext to call over new forces from Britain, while the English ministry were taught to believe that every last battle would be decisive. The battle of Crevelt was fought, in which the Hanoverians and English had the advantage; but it produced no effect. The victory of Minden followed; but laurels seemed all that England reaped from the conquered field. After these two victories, it was supposed that one reinforcement of British troops would terminate the war in our favour: a reinforcement was therefore sent. The British army in Germany now amounted to above thirty thousand men, yet no advantage of any consequence was the result of this formidable assistance. War was the trade of some generals, and it must be allowed a gainful trade it was. Let me therefore again pass over this continued repetition of marches, skirmishes, and rencountres, nor load the page with names of German generals, too difficult to be pronounced by an English tongue, and equally grating to a patriot ear. The victories of either side might, in fact, be considered as a compact, by which something was to be lost on either side, and no advantage to be acquired. The English, at length, began to open their eyes to their own interest; nor could all the splendors of victory so far blind them, as not to see that they were waging unequal war, and assuming new loads of taxes for conquests they could neither preserve nor enjoy. Such were the growing discontents of the people, when the king, who had inspired these measures, unexpectedly died.

On the twenty-fifth of October, 1760, George II, without any previous disorder, was found by his domestic servants expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that, as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after this, being left alone, he was heard to fall down upon the floor. The noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him into bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before her arrival he expired, in the 77th year of his age, and in the 33d of his reign, in the midst of victory; and at that very period when the universal enthusiasm of conquest began to subside into more sober reflections. If any monarch was happy in the peculiar mode and time of his death, it was he. The factions which had been nursing in his reign, had not yet come to maturity; and all their virulence threatened to fall upon his successor. He was himself of no shining abilities; and, consequently, while he was suffered to guide his German dominions, he entrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. You may take the following characters of him, by two writers of opposite sentiments:

"As to the extent of his understanding," says one, "or the splendor of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praising, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country, to which he sacrificed all other motives."

On the other hand, says his panegyrist, "On whatever side we look upon his character, we shall find ample matter for just and unsuspected praise. None of his predecessors on the throne of England lived to so great an age, or enjoyed longer felicity. His subjects were still improving under him in commerce and arts; and his own economy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his behaviour, made no change in his conduct, which was generally guided by reason. He was plain and direct in his intentions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants;

not parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In short, through the whole of life, he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues, than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left others their unenvied greatness."

LETTER LXVIII.

WHATEVER the advantages or disadvantages of the last reign may have been, George III had the happiness to ascend the throne when the former were predominant, when the people, if tired of war, which from the present system of finance had become expensive, were at least flushed with victory, and when they were, from many circumstances, prepared to greet the young king with the most cordial reception, and to flatter him with the most exalted opinion; and the expectations raised on the ascension of his majesty were not without foundation. He had just reached his twenty-third year; his past life was unsullied by public licentiousness; his manners were decent, and his moral character irreproachable. To this was added, that he was born in the kingdom, and "gloried in the name of Briton;" the adherents to the Stuart family were disabled; the Hanoverian family was established beyond all possibility of successful opposition, and nothing remained but to pursue those plans which gave splendour to the war, and by dint of superiority obtain from the enemy conditions of peace equally honourable and advantageous to the nation. His majesty, accordingly, professed his resolution to prosecute the war with vigour, and retained the ministry who had hitherto conducted it, excepting lord Holderness (who gave place to John, earl of Bute) and Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer. But the latter of these removals was attributed to political intrigue; and it is certain that the elevation of the earl of Bute was viewed with jealousy by the adherents to the Whig system. Bute had many virtues, yet it was conceived, that his sentiments were

less favourable to the interests of liberty than could have been wished in one who had had the superintendence of his prince's education.

His majesty's union with the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz was celebrated, together with their coronation, with every demonstration of joy and satisfaction throughout the kingdom. 1761. While these domestic events occupied the minds of the people, Mr. Pitt pursued the war with unabated vigour. Belle-isle in Europe, and Pondicherry in the East-Indies, were added to our conquests, and the capture of Dominica in the West-Indies reduced the French power to the lowest degree. The nation, however, became less dazzled by the splendour of victory; the expenses of the war were enormous; Germany was a perpetual drain to our finances, and the necessity of a speedy termination to hostilities was beginning to be felt, when a negociation was opened between France and Great Britain: but so far was this from being successful, that the war promised a longer duration, and a greater extent. Spain, deeply meditating the *Family Compact*, betrayed her designs by what was considered as an impertinent interference between the belligerent powers, and necessarily roused Mr. Pitt; who, seeing at once the whole of the project, proposed to declare war against that kingdom. In this he was opposed by the cabinet council; but was so confident of the rectitude and expediency of the measure, that he resigned in consequence of its failure.

The popularity of Mr. Pitt at this time, notwithstanding a seeming inconsistency in his support of continental connections, was at its height; and while the people, of whom he had long been the idol, were regretting his loss in the tumultuous language of popular affection, he shook the opinions of the nation, by accepting a pension for himself and a peerage for his lady. The representations of his friends to the public endeavoured to support his popularity; yet when, soon after his resignation, their majesties, according to custom, dined at Guildhall with the lord-mayor and citizens, Mr. Pitt, on his entrance into the city, was received by the populace with such acclamations, as seemed to

derogate not a little from the respect due to their sovereign, who happened to be an eye-witness of the veneration with which his late minister was treated.

Our opinion of him, indeed, as a shrewd politician, takes strength from the last act of his administration. What he foresaw, almost immediately took place. The family compact was announced. England was necessarily drawn into a war with Spain; and Portugal, as the friend of England, was involved almost to destruction. The influence of Mr. Pitt's former plans continued. Martinico surrendered to our arms, and Spain, in a very few months, lost Havannah, Manilla, and all the Philippine islands. The inhabitants of Manilla saved their lives and property by engaging to pay a ransom of one million; but the Spanish government had not the honesty to pay the sum, nor our administration the spirit to enforce it.

While these successes gave courage to the new minister, the duke of Newcastle, and the remainder of those who composed the cabinet of George II, resigned: the earl of Bute was placed at the helm, and a change of inferior departments took place to a degree so extensive as to border upon inhumanity. On the other hand, Mr. Henry Fox was invited to manage the business, as it is termed, of the house of commons. The administration was now complete, the enemies of Great Britain were humbled, and the paths to peace clearly marked out. A negociation was accordingly once more begun between the belligerent powers, by the intervention of the king of Sardinia's ambassador; the duke of Bedford was sent over to Paris, and the duke de Nivernois came to London; and at length the definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, by the duke of Bedford, the duke de Praslin, and the marquis de Grimaldi. The French gave up all their right to the neutral islands; the fort of Senegal; and their privilege of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland and the gulf of St. Lawrence, but at a certain distance from the shore. Spain, also, gave up on her part the extensive country of Florida. These were great advantages, but they did not afford universal satisfaction: the parliament, indeed, had sanctioned the treaty by a great majority; but the adherents to the ex-

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Canada;

ministry, who were neither few in number, nor inconsiderable in talents, reprobated the peace as inglorious, and its advantages as delusory. You may read what has been advanced on both sides, and you will find that one of the most urgent motives a man can have for thinking for himself, is the knowledge that much of what he reads comes from the pen of hirelings. One objection to the peace is, however, upon record. The regulations respecting our North-American conquests were so imperfectly expressed, as to occasion a war of horrid bloodshed with the Indian nations, which was not concluded till the subsequent year. The governments instituted in the West-India Islands and America, were the Grenades, Quebec, and East and West Florida. Such was the termination of a war, by which Great Britain acquired the highest renown as a warlike nation, but by which she accumulated immense expense, and gained territory, which diminished her security by dividing her strength, and at the same time contributed to lessen none of the animosities which rival nations employ for the purpose of mutual destruction.

The conclusion of the war was followed by the downfall of the minister. The establishment of the peace is said to have been the object of his ambition, and, that attained, his hopes of public usefulness were at an end. The talents of lord Bute were undoubtedly such as would decorate an ascetic life. In a life of literary leisure, he acquired dignity, and conciliated respect; but his manners were not adapted to a public situation. Not wholly averse to corruption, he knew not how to qualify it, and with intentions often honest and honourable, he knew not how to recommend them. The first obnoxious act of his administration was a tax upon cider, to be collected in the way of excise. Over that mode of taxation the people had always preserved a watchful eye. It was not forgotten, that Walpole, in the plenitude of power, was defeated in a similar attempt, and although the cider-bill passed into a law, the clamour against it was so great, as to compel the succeeding administration to repeal it. The people disliked lord Bute, and their dislike had now a plausible foundation. It is probable, however, that this excise-bill,

like others of more consequence since, might have remained in force, and the administration remained whole, had not an individual started forth, as the people's champion, who, by his reiterated complaints of error and misconduct in the administration of public affairs, created a dissatisfaction in the public mind, which the minister was neither able nor willing to withstand. This individual was Mr. John Wilkes, a man of moderate talents, but of great perseverance, and who possessed all the confidence and cunning necessary to a public leader. What his character wanted in virtue, was supplied by the plausibility of his pen. Disappointed in his application for the governorship of Canada, he commenced a paper called the *North-Briton*, a series of invectives against the ministry, and of obloquy against the Scotch nation. His coadjutor was Mr. Charles Churchill, the vigour of whose genius cannot but be acknowledged. The prose of the one, and the poetry of the other, kindled the flame of party. The minister yielded, and was succeeded by Mr. George Grenville, who began his administration by prosecuting Mr. Wilkes. This writer, in one of his papers, had asserted that his majesty's speech contained a falsehood. The king's messenger, by virtue of a general warrant, entered Mr. Wilkes's house, and apprehended him. After being examined before the secretaries of state, he was committed to the Tower. His papers were likewise seized and sealed up, though in the presence of his friends, an indulgence not usually granted to persons apprehended in this manner. A few days after, he was brought to Westminster-hall by *habeas corpus*, and released by lord chief justice Pratt, in consequence of his being a member of parliament. An information was then filed against him in the court of king's bench, for being the author of the 45th number of the North-Briton. No means were now left unpractised to swell the popular tumults. Mr. Wilkes called himself the champion of liberty; his friends echoed the title, and the people believed him. It must be observed, however, that the opposition, although not displeased with any step that weakened the ministerial scale, allowed him to fight his own battles; and the address

of the corporation of London, presented at this time, declared their abhorrence of the rising spirit of faction. The parliament ordered the seditious paper to be burnt by the common hangman;—an operation that occasioned a riot, which was not in itself dangerous, but served to discover the spirit of the populace. Mr. Wilkes was afterward expelled from the house of commons, and found it prudent to retire to the continent. The violence and intemperance of party never appeared so disgraceful as at this period: but however contemptible the origin of the tumult, the effects were favourable to liberty. General warrants lost their supposed legality, and the seizure of papers in consequence of such warrants was no longer to be practised. But Wilkes wanted to be popular, and to gain by his popularity. What neither his wit, his argument, nor his language, could have done, the unconstitutional seizure of his papers did for him: he wished to be the idol of the populace, and his enemies built the altar. His cause, when it entered into the question of general warrants, became the cause of the nation at large, of many who despised him, as well as of the populace, whose ignorance was deluded by his plausibility. It remains to be mentioned, that when he prosecuted the secretary of state for seizing his papers, he obtained a verdict of damages. It was on this memorable occasion that chief justice Pratt, after pronouncing the warrant, under which Mr. Wilkes was seized, illegal, concluded his speech with these words: "If the higher jurisdiction should declare my opinion to be erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod; but, I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain." An appeal so solemn was not without its effect. Justice Pratt shared in the popularity of the times, and his attachment to the liberty of the subject was remembered to his honour, long after the interested flatterers of the people had completely deceived them, and the mist of popular delusion was no more.

LETTER LXIX.

THE administration of Mr. Grenville, a man neither ignorant nor indolent, was in all respects unfortunate. His knowledge in trade and finances, which his friends very highly extolled, was guided by misrepresentation, and perplexed with errors. Forgetting the relative dignity of situation, he made the naval officers act in the meaner capacity of revenue-officers, a post which they were not qualified to fill; and in a short time their precipitancy almost ruined the trade carried on between our American colonies and the Spanish plantations. Our colonies lost the specie which enabled them to make the desired remittances to the mother-country. The trade, likewise, between those colonies and the West-India islands began to decline from a similar cause. They soon felt their distress; and, as the humblest and most moderate expedient, determined to remedy, by a strict economy and domestic forbearance, those evils which the loss of trade was beginning to accumulate. The British ministry were not insensible that they had gone too far, and enacted a law which seemed to legalize the trade between the American and other European colonies; but, in fact, such was the prevailing impolicy, that it enjoined duties which almost amounted to a prohibition, and which, when paid, were to be paid in specie, for paper-bills were not to be offered in payment. This was unwise in a very great degree: but the climax of ministerial impolicy was to be wound up by the famous stamp-act; an act, which though afterward repealed, excited the discussion of a question, in which the right of the British

1765. parliament to tax the American colonies was involved. That right was then first denied, and afterward given up by its most strenuous advocates, as not to be defended on just principles of free government. But it was unfortunate to hazard it. The act itself was rash, and inflamed the passions of the Americans; the repeal of it was a symptom of weakness, and shook their loyalty and obedience. In the chain of causes which separated the colonies from the mother-country, this must be considered as the first link.

The ministry were at this time confiding in their security, when some actions proceeding from this excess of confidence hastened their downfall. In their arrangement of a regency-bill, to provide for the king's illness, they showed a mark of disrespect toward the princess dowager of Wales, his majesty's mother, by excluding her from any share in the regency: and they dismissed the earl of Bute's brother from the office of keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, without being able to assign any reason. These were actions which offended both the court and the people. The odium also which they had contracted by their unwise restraints on American commerce was revived, by an insurrection of the journeymen silk-weavers to prevent the importation of French silks.

A change of ministry was planned and executed under the auspices of the duke of Cumberland; and the marquis of Rockingham appeared at the head of an administration composed of men of moderate whig principles. It was during their short stay in power that the stamp and cyder acts were repealed; and, by their other measures respecting colonial commerce, and their alleviating the burdens of the people at home, tranquillity seemed to be restored to every part of the British dominions. They had, however, no sooner made these salutary provisions, than their administration ceased. The duke of Grafton was appointed first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Pitt, now created earl of Chatham, accepted the office of lord privy seal. Their associates in office were the earl of Shelburne, lord Camden, and Mr. Charles Townsend. You have already seen that the parties denominated whig and tory were now mixed, and popular opinion became consequently divided.

The distresses of the poor, owing to a scarcity of corn, obliged the privy council to lay an embargo on that article;—a proceeding which, however justified by necessity, was so conducted as to require an act of indemnity. An act was accordingly passed on the meeting of parliament; but it provided only for the indemnity of the persons who carried the proclamation into effect. The privy council, as if authorised by the

constitution to issue such proclamations, were omitted in the act. This brought on a spirited debate, in the course of which the ministry justified themselves by the necessity of providing for extraordinary emergencies by extraordinary means. Scarcely had they got over this difficulty, when the impolitic system of taxing the colonies was again revived by Mr. Charles Townsend. He introduced a bill for imposing a duty on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass, imported into America, which passed with little or no opposition at home. It must be however mentioned, that in this, and other financial acts, lord Chatham bore no part. He was at this time prevented by illness from executing any of the duties of his office; and when, on the demise of Mr. Charles Townsend, lord North succeeded in his place, the earl was convinced that his influence on public transactions was at an end, and he resigned. Previous to his resignation, intelligence arrived of the effects of Mr. Townsend's new stamp-act. America presented a scene of tumultuous discontent; and though tranquillity was apparently restored at Boston by an armed force, it was not of long duration. In the East-Indies, a war had broke out between the English and Hyder Ali, which was carried on with various success. The Irish obtained an act, by which the parliament of that country, formerly determinable at the king's decease, was appointed to be chosen once in eight years. Other events of lesser moment occurred in this year; but the public attention was engrossed by the reappearance of Mr. Wilkes.

1768. This gentleman, who had incurred a sentence of outlawry, returned to England just before the general election, and, with his usual spirit, offered himself to represent the city of London. The livery, however, were not prepared to accept his services, and his enemies were rejoicing in his defeat, when, to their surprise, he carried his election for the county of Middlesex, against the influence of great landed property, and the whole strength of government. His success was the signal for riot and every species of tumult. A mob assembled round the King's-bench prison, (to which Mr. Wilkes was sentenced for

two years,) and the riot-act being read in vain, the military fired upon the people, several of whom were killed and wounded. This served only to increase the popular rage, and weaken the influence of administration. When, on the death of Mr. Cooke, the other member for Middlesex, Mr. Serjeant Glynn offered himself as on the popular side, he carried his election against the whole interest of the court. At this election a riot took place, in which some of the populace were killed: the murderers, though tried and convicted, found means to escape. These repeated acts of weakness on the part of administration, and of fury on that of the people, engaged the attention of the nation in an extraordinary degree. The press teemed with the mutual recriminations of the parties.

Wilkes had not yet taken his seat, when he published a letter, that fell into his hands, from lord Weymouth to the chairman of the Surry quarter-sessions. This he chose to consider as the cause of the massacre committed in St. George's fields. A charge that so nearly affected the noble lord's character, was not likely to pass without notice. Mr. Wilkes was adjudged guilty of a breach of privilege, and expelled the house. The Middlesex electors again chose him; but the house of commons declared this election void, and made out a new writ. To prevent his walking over the course, if possible, Mr. Luttrell, already a member of parliament, vacated his seat, and stood candidate for Middlesex. This gentleman, although he had not a fourth part of the votes which Mr. Wilkes had, and was not returned by the sheriffs, was declared duly elected. It was argued that Mr. Wilkes, having been once expelled, could not again be elected; and, as a vote for a man not eligible is not a legal vote, it followed that Mr. Luttrell had the majority of legal votes. The freeholders of Middlesex petitioned against a decision which they deemed equally unconstitutional and incomprehensible: but the house voted that, according to the law of parliament, a resolution once passed could not be reversed in the same session.

These proceedings were considered as so generally interesting to the nation, as to draw their attention

from affairs that afterward appeared to be more important. The parliament engaged in warm debates on the policy of taxing America; but the question remained undecided. The people in that country had become so refractory, that in an address the king was requested to issue a special commission for trying the American delinquents in England. This did not pass without a vehement but unsuccessful opposition on constitutional grounds.

We are now approaching to a period remarkable for the events to which it gave birth. This was
1770. the accession of lord North to the office of first lord of the treasury. It was during his administration that Great Britain experienced a convulsion, which shook it to its centre, and afterwards extended its effects to other nations in a manner that strongly evinces the insufficiency of human wisdom and foresight.

The Middlesex election still engaged the public mind. The people were roused, and the throne was besieged by innumerable addresses and remonstrances. The rights of electors and elections, the right of the people to speak, and the duty of the sovereign to hear, were canvassed with unusual boldness. The complaints against the late unconstitutional stretches of ministerial power were loud and incessant. Compared to the numbers who signed these remonstrances, and the alacrity with which their names were procured, the courtly flattery of counter-addresses was constrained, tardy, feeble, and insignificant. In parliament, the eloquence of Chatham and Camden enforced, but in vain, a reversal of the proceedings on the Middlesex election. Lord Chatham declared, that the people had no confidence in the then parliament, and proposed to address his majesty, praying him to dissolve it. I have already adverted to the freedom with which the conduct of the ministry was discussed; but I am now to relate an incident of that kind that is wholly unprecedented.

The corporation of London had presented a second address and remonstrance to his majesty, not having procured a favourable answer to the former one. On this occasion his majesty returned for answer, That he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to

himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at the last address. The lord-mayor, Mr. Beckford, a man of blunt manners and independent spirit, astonished the court, by desiring leave to reply. This being, however, granted, his lordship declared how much the bare apprehension of his majesty's displeasure would, at all times, affect their minds; that the declaration of his displeasure had filled them with anxiety, and with the deepest affliction; and he intreated the king not to dismiss them from his presence without some comfort, and prospect at least of redress. Thus far Mr. Beckford followed the etiquette of petitioning; but he concluded his speech in these words: "That whoever had already dared, or should hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate his majesty's affection from his loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw his confidence and regard from his people, was an enemy to his majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution." To this no reply was made.

During this year, a part of Mr. Townsend's stamp-act was repealed; but that which regarded the tea was continued, and consequently the principle of the act remained. Mr. Grenville was successful in carrying a bill through the houses for regulating the proceedings of the house of commons on controverted elections, which was not very agreeable to the ministry, and was strenuously opposed by the first lord of the treasury. At this time the Irish parliament vindicated their independence, by rejecting a money-bill, which, agreeably to ancient custom, had been always framed in the English privy council. This occasioned an unusual ferment: but the commons persevered, and in time established their right to originate money-bills in their own house.

In the course of the summer, the Spaniards sent out some ships, and seized upon Falkland's Islands, where the English had lately made a settlement and erected a fort; and this violation of peace had nearly involved us in a war with that nation. A negociation, how-

ever, took place, and the Spaniards restored the islands. It was privately stipulated that those islands should be afterward evacuated by Great Britain; and since that time no settlement has been made upon them. The pens of the political writers were employed to magnify or diminish the consequence of these islands, according as they were engaged for or against the ministry. Junius, a popular and elegant writer, whose real name has never yet been discovered, was at this time a formidable opponent to administration; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose moral and critical writings are above all praise, ranged himself on their side. On the whole, if the affront offered to the nation be overlooked, it does not appear that the possession of these islands was worth contending for.

1771. The following year is chiefly distinguished by an extention of the liberty of the press. Before this period, it was understood that the publication of the debates of parliament was contrary to the privileges of the house, and what little the printers ventured to give, was disguised by fictitious names, or merely the initials of the speakers. The power of the house, however, to prohibit such publications, was undefined, and the papers about this time were encroaching, they knew not upon what; when, at length, a member of the house of commons complained that his speech had been misrepresented, and as such tended to injure him in the opinion of his constituents. The house took up his cause with great warmth. They ordered the printers to attend the house: the printers, conceiving that a law which did not exist could not be obeyed, refused to attend. The serjeant at arms was then ordered to take them into custody; but he was treated with designed contempt. Irritated at this, the house addressed his majesty, that he would issue his proclamation, and offer a reward for apprehending those men. In consequence of this, they were apprehended, but immediately discharged by the magistrates, one of them by Mr. Wilkes, (now an alderman of the city of London,) a second by alderman Oliver, and a third by Mr. Crosby, the lord-mayor. The magistrates were applauded by the populace, and publicly thanked by the

citizens in common council. The house of commons had, however, proceeded too far to retract; and Mr. Oliver and the lord-mayor, both members of parliament, were ordered to attend in their places, where they justified their act with so much boldness, as to provoke the house to send them to the Tower, in which they remained until the end of the session. They were brought up, indeed, by habeas corpus to the court of common pleas, and their case argued, but in vain.

The house were still more perplexed with Mr. Wilkes. He had been ordered to attend at the bar of the house, but, in return, he claimed his privilege as a member, refusing to obey the orders of the house in any other character. It was now the house discovered that they had involved themselves in a dilemma, from which there was no means of escaping with credit; and they accordingly hit upon one of those littlenesses which make the best causes ridiculous. They ordered Mr. Wilkes to appear on the 8th of April, and adjourned to the ninth. This was giving up the cause in the most ungraceful manner: but the consequence is, that debates are now given openly, and at full length; the reporters being still amenable to parliament for wilful misrepresentations.

LETTER LXX.

THE "Royal Marriage Act," introduced into parliament about this time, was occasioned by the marriage of his majesty's two brothers, the dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, to ladies of inferior rank. It was deemed expedient to supply the defects of the existing laws, and, by some new regulations, prevent the descendents of the late king (excepting the issue of princesses who have married, or may hereafter marry, into foreign families) from marrying without the consent of his majesty, his heirs, and successors. A bill was accordingly carried through both houses, declaring all marriages, without such consent, to be 1772.

null and void. This was, however, violently resisted in every stage of its progress, and, in the house of lords, two strong protests were entered against it. It was thought to lay an improper restraint upon marriage, and to add too much additional weight to the royal prerogative.

During this year an expedition had been made against the island of St. Vincent, one of our Caribbean islands in the West-Indies. This expedition was canvassed in parliament, and condemned as unjust, cruel, and impolitic, because it wantonly exposed our best troops to destruction. The motion for a stricter inquiry, however, was thrown out, and the Caribbees having entered into a treaty with our forces, the affair was allowed to drop, although not without severe imputations on the conduct of our planters.

The affairs of the East-India Company occupied much of the attention of parliament during this and the following year. But it would swell this sketch far beyond the prescribed limits, were I to enter, even at moderate length, on the complicated statements presented to the house on this occasion. The affairs of the Company were evidently embarrassed, and it became necessary they should be brought under the immediate inspection of the crown. The new regulating bill consisted of these articles:—that the court of directors should, in future, be elected for four years; six members annually; but none to hold their seats longer than four years: that no person should vote at the election of the directors, who had not possessed their stock twelve months; that the stock of qualification should, instead of 500*l.* be 1000*l.*; that the mayor's court of Calcutta should, for the future, be confined to small mercantile causes, to which only its jurisdiction extended before the territorial acquisition; that in lieu of this court, thus taken away, a new one be established, consisting of a chief justice, and three puisne judges; that these judges be appointed by the crown; and that a superiority be given to the presidency of Bengal over the other presidencies in India.

All these clauses passed with great majorities, and thus a total change was effected in the constitution of

the Company in England, and the administration of its presidencies in India. At this time, also, the conduct of lord Clive was severely censured, but his services were considered as paramount to every defect in his government; the nature of the evidence against him was objected to; and it was voted, that he had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

You have seen, that the events of the last six or seven years have been few, and comparatively of small importance to the historic page. But we are now approaching a scene that will open gradually to a revolution of infinite moment.

You may remember, that when the other taxes which gave offence to the growing independent spirit of America were taken off, that on tea, though a trifling one, remained. Nor was this the only cause of disaffection: the dependence of the governors and judges in America had been transferred from the people to the crown: and, by some confidential letters, which accidentally fell into the hands of the people of Massachusett's Bay, they discovered that a scheme of coercion was in agitation against them. Accordingly, when the tea was attempted to be landed, the mob arose in Boston harbour, boarded the ships, and threw their cargoes into the sea, retiring peaceably afterward, without offering or receiving any personal violence. This circumstance alone ought to have indicated that this was no common mob, no banditti of plunderers, seeking their own interest only. Other places followed the example, particularly in South-Carolina. Such resistance to the mother-country could not long be concealed; it reached the ministry, heightened by many aggravations. The ministry exhibited to parliament, whose advice was thought immediately necessary, a number of papers received from America, all proving that the spirit of sedition was not confined to one or two places, but extended over all the colonies. The house resolved to exert every means in their power to maintain the due execution of the laws, and secure the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and parliament of Great Britain. It was proposed that the town of Boston should be obliged

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to pay for the cargoes of tea which the populace had destroyed; and should be deprived of its privileges as a port, until its good behaviour could be ascertained. This was opposed by a petition from the agent for the council of Massachusett's Bay, who desired to be heard in favour of that council, and of the town of Boston; and by another from the lord-mayor, in the name of the natives and inhabitants of North-America, then residing in London. They considered the resolutions of the house as oppressive and unjust, and concluded with the emphatic words, "that the attachment of America could not survive the justice of Britain." The minority of both houses also strongly contended against the violence of the measures about to be adopted, and warned the minister, that the flame would soon increase, and become too violent for any future attempts to quench it. It was even proposed to repeal the duty upon tea: but the ministry were inflexible, and the resolutions were carried through both houses without a division.

This emboldened them to take another step, yet more resolute. A bill was brought in to regulate the government of Massachusett's Bay, by transferring the whole executive power to persons appointed by the crown. This occasioned warm debates, and a strong protest. More petitions appeared against it, but were rejected. It was urged, that such measures would only exasperate, because founded in injustice; and that no instance of general discontent among a people or nation ever arose from any other cause than a general sense of oppression. These arguments were unavailing; and, as an appendix to this and the former bill, it was enacted, that rioters, apprehended in the province of Massachusett's Bay, if it should appear that a fair trial could not be had in the province, might be tried in some other of the colonies, or in Great Britain. The minister informed the house, at the same time, that four regiments, under the command of general Gage, had been ordered to Boston. It is plain, from this last act, that, whatever flattering hopes the minister entertained of returning peace, he was proceeding against the colonies as in a state of actual rebellion: but how-

ever impolitic this conduct appeared, the opinion of the nation at large went with lord North. It was generally expected, that the measures adopted *must* be successful; the colonies *must* submit, and peace be restored in a few weeks.

Before entering on the consequences of these measures, I shall advert to a bill passed near the close of this session, to ascertain the limits of the province of Quebec in North-America, to form a legislative council for all its affairs, (except taxation,) to be appointed by and during the pleasure of the crown; the Canadian Roman catholics to be entitled to a place in it; to establish the French laws, and a trial by jury in civil cases; and to secure to the popish secular clergy the legal enjoyment of their estates, and of their tithes, from all who were of their own religion. This bill met with great opposition both within doors and without. It was considered as not merely tolerating popery, but making it an established religion. The other regulations were objected to, because they went to form a system of arbitrary government.

LETTER LXXI.

WHEN general Gage arrived at his destination, he entered on his commission with an apparent confidence in the success of the measures which he was instructed to pursue. But the flame of civil discord had increased before his arrival; the colonists were already in possession of the Boston port-bill, which justified their fears, and at the same time excited their courage. And while some indulged the hopes of reconcilement, the majority prepared for a separation from the mother-country. Numerous meetings of the inhabitants of Boston invited the other colonies to concur with them in a resolution, that all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West-Indies, should cease, until the parliament reversed their proceedings. The obnoxious port-bill was circulated over the colonies, as the best excuse for the steps they

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were about to take, and the resentment it excited soon became general.

Soon after his arrival, the governor informed the new assembly, that it was necessary they should remove to the town of Salem, on the first of June, pursuant to act of parliament; but the assembly seeming inclined to remonstrate, he adjourned it to the seventh of that month, and increased their dissatisfaction still further by rejecting a petition, that a day of fasting and prayer should be appointed.

Other places had by this time followed the example of Boston. The house of burgesses in Virginia took upon them to appoint a fast on the first of June, the day on which the fatal bill was to take effect. This provoked their governors to dissolve the assembly;—a measure useless and impotent, as the principal members issued proposals for a *general congress* to meet and declare the voice of the whole colonies. The colonists, however, cannot be accused of rashness. Many of them, while they commiserated the distresses of the Bostonians, recommended the most lenient measures. While preparing for the worst, they used no other weapons at this time than remonstrance and petition. It may be also supposed, that, amid a variety of contending interests, the proposal to interrupt all trade with Great Britain would not be subscribed by those who immediately depended on it. Great Britain, by such a step, might indeed lose much, but the colonists would infallibly lose every thing. The obstruction of one channel of profit cannot be speedily succeeded by the opening of another. Besides, they considered, that the adoption of such a measure must necessarily be followed by a civil war. This terrific idea suggested the mildest conduct on the part of the colonists; and addresses were drawn up by the council of Boston, and presented to general Gage. In these the colonies urged, that their claims were no other than the claims of Englishmen, and that their grievances had arisen from a series of oppressions by former governors. The general would not listen to this remonstrance, and had his sentiments confirmed by a counter address from some friends to government at Boston.

When the representatives met at Salem, they renewed their proposals for a general congress, appointed five deputies from that province, and voted 500*l.* for their necessary expenses. According to the establishment of the colony, the governor's assent was necessary to these acts; but that being peremptorily refused, the money was raised by voluntary contribution; and the assembly, foreseeing that the governor would attempt to dissolve them, refused admittance to his secretary, who came for that purpose, and published a declaration expressive of their sense of the public danger, and recommending to discontinue trade with Great Britain. It was upon this occasion, that the merchants, in an address to the governor, proclaimed their abhorrence of the idea, equally dishonourable to themselves and to their country; that they were now enabled, and would embrace the opportunity to profit by the distresses of Boston; and while they made this sacrifice, they declared, at the same time, that they were ready to promote a reconciliation, by any measures compatible with the safety and dignity of british subjects.

To complete the defeat of government measures, when a proposition was made in the assembly to pay for the damaged teas, it was rejected by a very great majority. But the government was not altogether without friends. The commercial connection between the mother-country and the colonies was a tie not easily to be broken. The views of commerce were narrow. It was supposed that, by the cessation of trade, both countries must be ruined. This consideration therefore was common to both; and although the colonists were spurred on, by a few men of declamatory talents, to listen to no terms of accommodation, and to push matters to the extremity, yet it is probable that a cessation of hostile measures on the part of government, precisely at this point, might have given the mother-country time to pause, and to recollect (for she had often experienced it) that a general sense of oppression is not to be dissipated by force. And the colonists, dreading the fatal consequences of a civil war, might have yielded on their part to a certain de-

gree, or, on the removal of the port-bill, &c. might have returned to their allegiance. But the arrival of the bills relative to Massachusett's Bay, and that for quartering the troops in America, convinced them that they had nothing to hope from Great Britain, and that they must now collect such powers as could be speedily organized for the public defence. While a general congress was eagerly called for, the committee of correspondence at Boston bound themselves, by what they termed a solemn league and covenant, to suspend all commercial correspondence with Great Britain, and to renounce all communication with those who should refuse to join in this agreement. It was in vain that general Gage proclaimed it an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination, and enjoined the magistrates to punish the persons concerned in it. The people proceeded to choose representatives for the general congress, and those again chose deputies, whose members bore a proportion to the extent of the province. The congress was appointed to be held at Philadelphia. Its purpose was to form the plan of a system of conduct from the united deliberations of the colonies in general; and the members were also empowered to lay before Great Britain the claims of the injured colonists. So resolute were they to sacrifice their interest to what they valued at a higher rate, that Virginia and Maryland, and the two Carolinas, which depended most on exports, resolved not to purchase any more slaves from Africa, or the West-Indies; and to turn their lands into pasture, and improve the breed of sheep, that the loss of their tobacco-trade might be as little as possible felt. The American magistrates, in the mean time, informed the governors, that their power was no more.

Numerous as the discontented party was, they had hitherto, chiefly confined themselves to the publication of resolutions, and the assertion of their claims upon the justice of Great Britain; but the arrival of the troops from Ireland, and other places, and the report that a regiment had been posted at Boston Neck, in order to force the inhabitants into submission, determined them to oppose force to force. A considerable body of men from Worcester county prepared to march

to the assistance of their brethren at Boston, and the colonists went on in the most orderly and expeditious manner to provide for the exigencies of impending war. They remonstrated with the governor on the injustice of his seizing the ammunition lodged in the arsenal at Cambridge and Charleston, and his fortifying Boston Neck. He answered, that no use was to be made of the cannon, &c. unless their hostilities should render it necessary. This did not amount to a declaration of his sentiments, and they continued their preparations.

The congress, consisting of fifty-one delegates, met at Philadelphia, and commenced with an address to the governor, in which they deprecated his endeavours to reduce them into submission by force. The governor retaliated with complaints of their hostilities, and the violation of chartered rights, and warned them against provoking government any further. His authority, however, was gone: he could not even procure the lowest mechanics to erect barracks for his soldiers; but he sent some sailors to spike up the cannon on one of the principal batteries belonging to Boston. The congress, on the other hand, had the satisfaction to see that all their resolutions had the validity of laws; and assured general Gage, who disputed the legality of their assembling, that the whole colonies were unanimous against his and the late parliamentary proceedings. They drew up a long statement of grievances, and traced them as far back as the year 1764. This is a proof that the violence of the present disaffection was not sudden; and it has been since ascertained, with tolerable accuracy, that the seeds of a separation from Great Britain had been sown in America even before that period. The congress next proceeded to draw up a petition to his majesty, a memorial to the people of Great Britain, an address to the colonies in general, and another to the inhabitants of Massachusett's Bay. After finishing these addresses, the congress adjourned: during the fifty-two days of their sitting, they had been unmolested by the governor's proclamations, and were perfectly regardless of his refusal to sanction their authority.

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It became necessary that the opinion of parliament should be taken as early as possible on these occurrences. Accordingly, a new parliament met on the 30th of December; but, although his majesty, in his speech, adverted to the spirit of disobedience which prevailed in the province of Massachusett's Bay, no mention was made of the additional supplies. The estimates were formed upon a peace establishment; even a reduction of four thousand seamen took place. The consideration of American affairs was postponed till after the Christmas holidays. It was then that lord Chatham, after a long absence, appeared in his seat to reprobate the measures pursued against America, and to open a plan for conciliation, before it should be too late. The first part of this plan was an address to his majesty, for recalling the troops from Boston. But the ministry were adverse to relax, unless America would acknowledge the supremacy of Great Britain; and his lordship's motion was lost by a great majority. The table of the house of commons, however, became soon covered with petitions from the city of London, and other commercial towns, and great mercantile bodies. These occasioned warm debates, as to the manner in which they ought to be received; but their purpose was finally defeated. The petition sent from the American congress, and presented by Mr. Bollan, Mr. Franklin, and Mr. Lee, was rejected, as coming from an illegal assembly. Every motion, indeed, of a conciliatory kind, was treated with severity; and the ministerial majorities were irresistible. Lord Chatham made a second effort, by presenting a bill, entitled "A provisional act for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over her colonies." But this, although recommended by the full vigour of his lordship's eloquence, and strengthened by arguments which many thought unanswerable, was not even allowed to undergo the parliamentary form of lying on the table.

Jan. 20, 1775.

Lord North, on the other hand, brought in a bill for restraining the trade and commerce of Massachusett's

Bay and New Hampshire, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and Providence Plantation in North-America, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West-India Islands, and to prohibit such provinces and colonies from carrying on any fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. No bill, perhaps, was ever more eagerly contested both within and without doors. If you look back to the proceedings of congress, and to the various petitions against the bill, you will be sensible that it was the very step of all others to be avoided in the existing circumstances of the case. It was, however, carried by a great majority. I may observe, that, in the course of the debates on the affairs of America, a question of law was discussed, namely, whether the Americans were or were not in a state of *rebellion*. The crown lawyers answered this in the affirmative. The minority, without directly entering into its merits, averred that it was of very little consequence; the point in dispute was, whether it would be prudent to *declare* them to be in a state of rebellion.

As the ministry had now been successful in every motion that tended to establish a system of coercion, what followed was matter of considerable surprise. Lord North advanced a conciliatory motion, the purport of which was, that when the governor, council, and assembly, or general court of his majesty's provinces, or colonies, shall propose to make provision, according to their respective conditions, circumstances, and situations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the general court, or general assembly of such province, or colony, and disposable by parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of civil government, and the administration of justice in such province, or colony; it will be proper, if such proposal should be approved of by his majesty in parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or assessment, or impose any further duty, tax, or assessment, except only

such duties as it may be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such province, colony, or plantation, respectively. The minister's friends thought that he was now granting too much; the opposition, that he was granting nothing at all: but the bill, upon the whole, seemed so contradictory to the former declarations of the house, that his lordship was obliged to explain away the contradiction, by saying, that no declaration of the house could bind a strict adherence to any former resolution relative to the submission to be required of the colonies, previous to a relaxation on our side: and he frankly confessed, that the result of our taxing the colonies had proved unproductive in point of revenue. But this explanation was not plausible enough to satisfy many of his own friends; and the opposition contended, that the relaxation was not enough to have any effect on the colonies, who would discover in it the irresolute weakness of our councils, and would take encouragement to persevere in their resistance. While we were asserting an imaginary supremacy, we were, in fact, giving the Americans a real superiority. Other motions for a reconciliation, brought forward by the friends of America, were after a short hearing rejected, and this of lord North's passed by a great majority. The ministry either did not know, or affected not to know, that it was the right, and not the mode, of taxation, which the colonies disputed. Besides, in this bill, his majesty's governors, councils, and assemblies, are called upon; whereas, at this time, such governors, councils, and assemblies, existed in name only; their power and influence were gone for ever.

While these violent measures were pursued in Great Britain, the colonies were preparing for war. They cherished some faint hopes that their petitions would not pass unheeded: but self-preservation would admit of no abatement of their vigilance. The southern as well as the northern colonies began to arm, and hearing that the exportation of arms and ammunition to America had been prohibited, they instantly es-

tablished manufactures of these articles, and soon were enabled to supply themselves. The congress, who met at Cambridge, in Massachusett's Bay, passed several resolutions relative to the preparation of ammunition. The *minute-men*, a kind of militia, were embodied for service; and, as the proclamations of government had nowise tended to crush such proceedings, general Gage was induced to try what force could do. The colonists having collected some stores at the town of Concord, he sent a large body of troops to destroy them; the militia of the country were, however, alarmed, and having endeavoured to dispute the passage of a bridge with the king's troops, a skirmish took place, in which the militia were obliged to retreat with the loss of some killed, and some taken prisoners. An engagement of a more serious nature afterward took place at Lexington, in which sixty-five of the king's troops were killed, and more than two hundred wounded and taken prisoners: the provincials reported that they lost no more than sixty, two-thirds of which were killed. This was the first blood shed in this unhappy quarrel. Each party accused the other of having given the provocation; but, if we consider the indignant minds of the Americans, and the high spirit of the king's troops, who could not brook the resistance of a raw, undisciplined militia, the provocation of the day may be equally shared between them. The news of this engagement quickly spread over the colonies; the militia which surrounded Boston amounted to many thousands; the names of Putnam, Ward, Pribble, Heath, Prescot, and Thomas, appear among their commanders. A line of encampment was formed round their head-quarters at Cambridge; and the congress, in an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, laid the blame of the late hostilities upon the king's troops, and declared that the people of America had no alternative but death or freedom. Paper currency was issued to support the establishment of an army, and obedience to general Gage was formally renounced.

Jan. 1775.

LETTER LXXII.

After the affair at Lexington, it was not difficult to foresee that the horrors of a civil war were inevitable: one aggravation followed on the heels of another, and the contending parties, by mutual provocations, stifled the sentiments of brotherhood, and blasted the hopes of reconciliation. The provincials of Boston, feeling the disadvantages of their confined situation, requested permission from the governor to leave the town, or at least to remove their women and children. This was granted, upon condition of their laying down their arms, with which, when they complied, the governor revoked his grant, and the few that were afterward permitted to go, were obliged to leave all their effects behind them. In resentment of this usage, the congress prohibited all connection or commerce with such places as had not yet revolted from their allegiance to the mother-country. The province of New York acceded to these proceedings, and preparations were made for its defence. A body of men, not exceeding two hundred and forty, took possession by surprise, and without bloodshed, of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and other fortresses, which commanded the passes between the British colonies and Canada. With these they seized also two vessels, and materials prepared at Ticonderoga for building others. Nor were these precautions unnecessary. The king's troops, about the end of May, were reinforced by several regiments from Great Britain and Ireland, commanded by the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton. Upon this the congress resolved that no bills or drafts should be negociated with the officers of the army, nor any necessaries disposed of to them. The unanimity of the colonists appears in nothing more than the readiness with which these commands were obeyed.

To break this union, general Gage offered the king's pardon to all who would lay down their arms, excepting Messrs. Hancock and Adams, who were deemed ringleaders, and unworthy of mercy. This offer had no other success than to be considered as a declaration of war, and Hancock was elected president of con-

gress; a honour which he probably owed, at that time, to his being singled out as a victim to the wrath of government. A party of the continental troops, who had been sent to Charleston, completed, in one night, upon Bunker's hill, a small but strong redoubt, with intrenchments and a breastwork, and this amid the fire from the king's ships and floating batteries. About noon, on the 17th of June, general Howe, with nearly 2000 men, marched from Boston against these men. After some manœuvres on both sides, a furious engagement took place, in which the king's troops were at first worsted, and probably would have either been cut to pieces or driven from the place, had not general Clinton, who now arrived from Boston, rallied them, and obliged the provincials to desist from their works. The mischief done by this engagement was dreadful. Charleston was, by some accident, set on fire in various places, and burnt to the ground. The king's troops lost above a thousand men, of whom more than two hundred were killed, and of the latter nineteen were commissioned officers. The provincials are said to have lost only four hundred and fifty in all. Immediately after this action, the colonists, undismayed by the terrors of a British army, the strength of which they had now tried, began to fortify Breed's hill, opposite Bunker's hill, which produced several skirmishes. To add to the difficulties which the British army had to encounter, the Canadians, who had been solicited for this purpose, were not cordial in rendering assistance to the royal cause. An attempt was also made to involve the colonists with the Indians, but it did not succeed.

In the month of July, the congress, who had not yet wholly abandoned pacific measures, drew up another declaration, an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, one to those of Ireland, and a petition to the king. In the declaration they say, "Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, *foreign assistance* is undoubtedly attainable." These words passed unheeded at the time; but you will soon find they had a meaning. The colony of Georgia, hitherto not included in lord North's prohibitory acts, now joined

their brethren, drew up a petition to the king, and sent five members to congress. This completed the union of the thirteen colonies. The congress appointed George Washington, esq. to be general and commander-in-chief of all the American forces. Mr. Washington, beside considerable military skill, possessed an unblemished character, and inviolable attachment to the cause of the colonists. Among the field-officers, we likewise find the names of Ward, Lee, Schuyler, Putnam, and Gates, some of whom had formerly served in the British army. When generals Washington and Lee joined the camp at Boston, the arrangements made for the pay, &c. of the army, and the favour in which they were held by the inhabitants, gave them superior advantages.

The colonists, who as yet had acted principally upon the defensive, now formed the bold design of sending a force to invade and reduce Canada. The force appointed to this service consisted of three thousand men, commanded by generals Montgomery and Schuyler. The expedition, though not successful, afforded both armies various opportunities of signalizing their courage. The Americans proceeded as far as Quebec, where they were repulsed, and obliged to turn the siege into a blockade. General Carleton, however, the British commander, recovered the province, and the continental army were obliged to retire with great loss of men killed, and many taken prisoners. Among the killed was general Montgomery, to whose bravery his enemies generously bore testimony.

The war commenced in Virginia from a circumstance apparently trivial. Lord Dunmore, the governor, began to entertain suspicions of the Virginians, and, by ordering the powder which had been deposited in Williamsburgh, the chief city, to be removed on board a ship in James' river, excited reciprocal suspicions in their mind, and they obliged the receiver-general to give security for the value of the powder. The governor, in a proclamation, termed this an act of rebellion; and, after laying before the provincial assembly lord North's conciliatory propositions, he retired on board a man of war, which lay off Yorktown. A singular

negociation then commenced between the governor and the burgesses, they intreating him to return, and he declaring his fears for personal safety. He persisted in retaining his situation on board the ship, and invited the burgesses to meet him there. The burgesses considered this as a high breach of their rights and privileges; and, having concluded the session, a convention of delegates was appointed to transact the business of the colony. These began with a declaration similar to that drawn up by the other colonies. With this the allegiance of Virginia to Great Britain ended.

Lord Dunmore, having collected what marine force he could, prepared to resist the insurgents; bodies of troops were sent on shore to plunder, and being opposed by the Virginians, many lives were lost. The king's ships also made an attempt to burn Hampton, but were beat off with the loss of some men, and a tender. Martial law was now proclaimed, and the governor's forces were increased by a considerable number of blacks and whites, who were promised their freedom on condition of joining the royal standard; but a detachment of these, having endeavoured to surprise the colonists in their entrenchments, were all either killed or taken prisoners. Lord Dunmore, who had left his ship previous to this engagement, again retired to it. The provincials having got possession of some cannon and stores, entered Norfolk, and the king's ships retired to a greater distance. Very soon after, however, this town was reduced to ashes by the fleet, after a desperate engagement. The loss being immense, and the conflagration wanton, it cannot be wondered if the minds of the Americans were now exasperated to the highest pitch. It would far exceed the limits of this sketch, were I to notice all the petty engagements which took place in the several provinces, as the war extended itself. The only important event of this year which remains to be noticed, is the act of confederation and perpetual union, passed by the associated colonies. This confederation was declared to be "The united colonies of America," for their common defence, for the security of their liberties and property, and their mutual and general safety and welfare. It ascertains

the power of congress, and prescribes the mode of its action, and is declared to be established, until the terms of reconciliation proposed in the petition of congress to the king are agreed to, the obnoxious acts repealed, reparation made for the injury done to Boston, for burning Charleston, and till the British troops are withdrawn from America. On these events taking place, the colonies are to return to their former connections and friendship with Great Britain; but, on failure thereof, this confederation is to be perpetual. Some resolutions were at the same time passed, for the encouragement of foreign trade, and for retaliation in case any person should be punished for an adherence to the American cause. This confederation was not at first agreed to by all the colonies, but in the course of the following year it became the solemn act of the united colonies.

The British parliament was opened in October, by a speech from the throne, of more than usual length, in which all that had passed in America during the recess was detailed, offers of foreign assistance were announced, and an addition of supplies stated to be an object of necessity, in order to reduce the colonies to obedience. The addresses in answer to this speech were combated with the usual force of opposition. The war now entered into was declared to be unjust and impolitic, and it was foreseen that its consequences would be fatal. Large supplies were, however, granted, and foreign troops were engaged in the service. By a bill, introduced soon after the meeting of parliament, all trade and intercourse was interdicted with the American colonies; and the property of the colonies, whether ships or goods, were declared to be forfeited to the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war who might be the captors. It was also enacted, that the masters, crews, and other persons, found on board American vessels, should be entered, and considered as in his majesty's service. The operation of this law was to be softened in the case of such colonies as returned to their allegiance.

The propriety of employing foreign troops against the colonies was warmly debated. The ministry, however, saw nothing but the absolute necessity of the

war, and the employment of foreign troops was a lesser necessity arising from it. The opposition strongly urged, that the Americans, driven likewise by necessity into a war, would not fail to copy our example, and avail themselves of the assistance of foreign troops, if they could procure them. The troops of Hesse Cassel, however, and of the duke of Brunswick, were engaged, to the number of 16,000. The other proceedings of parliament consisted of several unavailing attempts on the part of the minority to procure a reconciliation with America. Mr. Penn, the American, was examined in the house of peers, respecting the actual state and views of the colonies. The duke of Richmond moved, that the petition of congress was ground for a reconciliation of the unhappy differences at present subsisting between Great Britain and America; but this was negatived. Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley revived their propositions to the same effect, but in vain. During this session, the land-tax was voted at four shillings in the pound, and some changes took place in the arrangements of administration, but none in the system.

LETTER LXXIII.

THE state of affairs in America at the close of this year was in all respects new. A war with the mother-country was actually begun, and when, the hopes of reconciliation becoming fainter, the question arose how to carry it on, the colonists found that they had to struggle with difficulties of a very peculiar nature, but which it appears they had the art to conceal from their enemies. Their army had been raised for a temporary purpose only, and rather for defence than offence. It was composed of troops in all points irregular, of men who took up arms in the sanguine hopes that the courage displayed in a few skirmishes would induce the British to compound the dispute; but who had never weighed the fatigues of war, and could not brook the transition from the easy comforts of civil, to the discipline and rigour of military, life. Their ardour ac-

cordingly began to abate; great numbers left the army; new levies were made with the greatest difficulty; tar-
1776. diness and irresolution kept back their recruits, and, at the commencement of the following year, the whole American army did not amount to ten thousand men.

Boston was, at this time, suffering all the distresses of a close siege; the supplies sent by government arrived late, and part of them were intercepted by the colonists. General Washington was counselled to make an assault on this place, but he was too conscious of the insufficiency of his ammunition to endanger his army and his cause by a rash enterprize. That, however, he might not be seen to disregard his duty, or discredit his vigilance, he informed his officers that, as his army, by the accession of a numerous militia, amounted now to nearly 17,000 men, he thought it might be proper to make an attempt on the British lines. In this he was opposed; and it was recommended to him to take possession of Dorchester heights. This was achieved in the dead and silence of night, on the 4th of March, and such a defence erected before morning, that the British admiral assured general Howe it would be impossible to keep one of his ships in the harbour unless the enemy were dislodged. A violent storm preventing this design, the British officers, in consequence of a previous resolution, began to evacuate the town. On the 17th, their troops, amounting to 9000 men, left the place, after spiking up some cannon, and destroying part of the castle. Many of the townsmen, who were well affected to government, accompanied them, and after a short voyage they arrived at Halifax. The situation of the British troops in Boston had been very unpleasant, and it was judged that a central position for the grand army would enable it to act with more effect. Some of the king's ships only were left to protect such vessels as might arrive, and general Washington, with his army, marched into the town immediately on the embarkation of the British troops.

In Canada, where the Americans hoped to have erected their standard, they were completely unsuccessful, and had the mortification to see their small fleet

destroyed on the lakes. The British had possession of Lake Champlain; and general Carleton, whose troops took possession of Crown Point, after driving the colonists from it, would have also contended with the main body at Ticonderago, but the artful manœuvres of general Gates interrupted his progress, and the approach of winter obliged him to retreat. The recovery of Quebec having been now accomplished, the British troops next proposed to extend their arms to some of the southern colonies, and to take possession of New York.

Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, the latter of whom had just arrived with a fleet from England, determined to attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina, a place of great importance, and which they supposed might be carried by the assistance of shipping. Charleston was in a state of defence, principally arising from some works erected on Sullivan's island, which guarded the channel. Sir Peter Parker commenced the attack on this island with two 50-gun ships, four frigates of 28 guns, and four lesser armed vessels. The fort mounted only twenty-six cannon, the largest of which were 26-pounders; the garrison did not exceed 400 men, commanded by general Moultrie. After a brisk engagement, which lasted ten hours, the fleet were obliged to retire, with a considerable loss of men. General Clinton was unable to cooperate by land, and in a few days the troops reimbarked. This was the first time the provincials had resisted a fleet, and, as they did not lose thirty men, they were elevated with their success.

New York, from the facility with which it could be maintained, and its relative position, was of the utmost importance to the contending powers. It was well known to general Washington, that the English had determined to make themselves masters of it, as a prelude to more serious operations, and here therefore the great stand must be made. Admiral lord Howe and his brother Sir William were appointed to command the expedition against this place. The British army consisted of nearly 30,000 men, amply provided. General Howe arrived, about the end of June, off Sandy

Hook, with the troops which he had removed from Boston. In two days, the admiral joined him with reinforcements at Staten island, where the inhabitants received them with great cordiality. A considerable body of loyalists here testified their attachment to the British government. At this very moment, however, the 14th of July, the congress published their declaration of independence. Reflecting men could not but be struck with the circumstance of its being published at such a time of danger, when the British army was double that of the Americans, the latter raised only for a temporary purpose, and when its leaders had no certainty that it would be kept up.

The British commander found Long island and New York in a posture of defence. General Washington had fixed his head-quarters in the city, and, profiting by former experience, determined on a war of posts, or the raising slight fortifications in various places, which retarded and embarrassed the operations of the enemy. This commander, however, was not without his difficulties. Uncertain where the enemy might make their attack, he had to answer all the applications from the people of various quarters for support. The appearance of the enemy off New York seemed to bring the matter to a decision, and the inhabitants prepared to oppose their whole force.

The Howes, part of whose commission was to offer peace, issued proclamations, signifying that they were impowered to grant pardon to all those who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty; and to declare any colony, province, &c. to be at peace with his majesty. The congress republished these proclamations, from a conviction that they would produce a very opposite effect to that intended. At the same time, Lord Howe sent a letter to *George Washington, Esq.* which this gentleman refused to receive, as it was not addressed to *him* with his military rank and title. General Howe then sent adjutant-general Paterson with a letter to *George Washington, &c.* and hoped that the *et cetera* would remove the objection. After some debate on this trifling absurdity, equally disgraceful to both parties at

such a crisis, the British commissioners were informed that, "from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon, and that those who had committed no fault, wanted no pardon."

These negociations proving fruitless, the British army commenced its operations. The American army in and near New York did not exceed 18,000 men, scattered at considerable distances in posts. The enemy landed without opposition between Utrecht and Gravesend, two small towns, and after a series of marches, an engagement took place, in which the Americans lost or had taken upwards of 1000 men, and the British about 450. General Washington, who had removed the greatest part of his army to Long island, finding the approach of the enemy irresistible, determined to retreat. There are few occurences in military history more remarkable than this retreat. Nine thousand men, with all their baggage and ammunition, were conveyed over the East river, above a mile in breadth, to New York, in less than thirteen hours, and this entirely unknown to the British army, who were not a quarter of a mile distant. In the morning, the latter took possession of the works evacuated by this well-conducted retreat. Immediately after, an interview was agreed upon between some members of congress and lord Howe, but it ended in a mere interchange of personal civilities.

A descent on New York island was the next step to be taken. When general Howe began to land his men between Keeps's bay and Turtle bay, a party, who had been stationed at a breast-work to oppose him, retreated on the first appearance of his troops. Washington in vain attempted to rally them. Next day, the same men partly retrieved their honour in a skirmish: but the place was no longer tenable, and the Americans retired to the north end of the island. An accidental fire broke out soon after the British troops entered the city, which destroyed about a thousand houses. General Howe now endeavoured to draw the enemy into action, but, after various manœuvres, he was not able to accomplish what would probably have been fatal to the American cause. In

the course of this experiment, general Washington, at one time, obtained an eligible position, and seemed to wish for an engagement: but that not taking place, he crossed the North river, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. General Lee was left at North Castle with upward of 7000 men. General Howe afterward determined to attack Fort Washington, the only post on New York island in the hands of the Americans. An adequate force being sent against it, an engagement ensued, in which, of the British, nearly 1200 were killed or wounded. The fort capitulated on honourable terms: the men, amounting to 2700, were considered as prisoners of war.

Success emboldened the British troops to follow up their late victories, and lord Cornwallis was sent to attack Fort Lee, the garrison of which retreated precipitantly, leaving their artillery and stores. General Washington determined to retire to Augusta county, in Virginia. The progress of the American cause was now truly critical; their spirits were sunk, numbers were deserting, and the new army enlisted very slowly. Lord Cornwallis pursued general Washington's troops close in the rear as far as the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The British army also took possession of Rhode Island, and blocked up a squadron under the command of commodore Hopkins: and to complete the defeat of the colonists, general Lee was taken prisoner at Baskenbridge. Nothing could appear so destitute of hope as the affairs of the continental army; the seat of war being now removed to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, the congress were obliged to retreat to Baltimore, leaving a sort of dictatorial power with general Washington. Yet so far were they from yielding in any measure to the terms held out by the mother-country, that some of them even now proposed to seek the assistance of France, and, as an equivalent, to transfer to that country the monopoly of trade which Britain had enjoyed. This not being concluded upon, they resolved to offer freedom of trade to every foreign nation.

Toward the close of this year, their army began again to recruit, and general Washington, being con-

siderably reinforced, determined to cross the Delaware, and attack the British troops which lay at Trenton. The latter were deceived by an ill-grounded security, and, after a bloody engagement, were obliged to lay down their arms. About nine hundred were thus taken prisoners, six hundred escaped, and the rest were killed. After the action, general Washington returned to Pennsylvania to secure his prisoners, and, recrossing the river again, took possession of Trenton. On this, part of the British army advanced against the place, marching from Princetown, and after driving a detachment of the Americans from a post a little to the northward of Trenton, were themselves checked at the bridge over Sandpink creek, which runs through Trenton. On each side of this creek, the two armies

1777. sat down on the 2d of January for the night. But general Washington, thinking he could attack the remainder of the enemy left at Princetown, retreated in the night, reached Princetown early in the morning, and engaged three regiments of the British troops, sixty of whom were killed, and about three hundred taken; the rest made their escape. The American loss, according to their report, was inconsiderable. The British now removed their whole force to New Brunswic. In the mean time, general Washington retired to Morristown. For three months after this, no action of importance was performed. The Americans complained loudly of the rapacious cruelty and wantonness of the British soldiery, and this circumstance revived those sentiments of freedom and union which originally animated their cause; the continental army began to increase; the congress applied their wisdom to the organization of a regular force; the several colonies adopted a temporary form of government; and, notwithstanding the losses of this campaign, their commanders, by judicious movements, and attempting to take no advantage but what appeared certainly attainable, preserved the main body of their troops, and deprived their enemies of those opportunities of action which must have terminated in their favour.

This protraction, while it enabled the colonists to recruit their armies, and to form them for service, not only exhausted their enemies, who were subsisting at an enormous expense in a country far removed from home, and with which few of them were acquainted, but also gave a turn to the minds of many of the people in Great Britain. Accustomed to undervalue the strength of such empires as France and Spain, when placed in opposition to that of Britain, and having never before contended with other than nations of slaves, they had no idea of that energy, that perseverance, and those resources, which a people fighting for their liberty can command. The progress, therefore, of this campaign, was either misrepresented or misunderstood; for, at the meeting of parliament, the nation seemed unanimous to crush the rebellion in America, and considered the declaration of independence as an insult that demanded immediate satisfaction. It was stated in his majesty's speech, on the opening of parliament in October, 1776, that one great advantage would be derived from the declaration of independence. We should have unanimity at home, founded on the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures. A large military and naval force was voted, and although the minority disputed every inch of ground, yet they were so conscious of the inefficacy of their endeavours, that a number of them seceded from parliament. Near the close of the session, the additional sum of 100,000*l.* a year was added to his majesty's civil list. This occasioned very warm debates, and when the bill came to be presented for his majesty's assent, sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker of the house of commons, addressed the king with unusual freedom, stating that the representatives of the people had granted this sum, in a well-grounded confidence, that his majesty would apply wisely what they granted liberally; and feeling, what every good subject must feel with the greatest satisfaction, that, under the direction of his majesty's wisdom, the affluence and grandeur of the sovereign would reflect dignity and honour upon his people. The sense of the house was said to be misrepresented in this speech, and the speaker

was judged to be highly culpable. Mr. Fox ended the debate, by moving, that the speaker did express, with just and proper energy, the zeal of the house for the support of the honour and dignity of the crown, in circumstances of great public charge. This motion, and a vote of thanks to the speaker, were then carried without a division. Immediately before the adjournment, lord Chatham made an ineffectual attempt to put a stop to the war, and, with that prescience which had ever distinguished his public life, hinted the possibility of a treaty between France and America.

LETTER LXXIV.

We left the British and American army in winter-quarters. The season was considerably advanced before the campaign in the middle states commenced. The American army had received some resources of ammunition from France, but to balance this, the royal troops had executed two successful expeditions, by which they destroyed, or brought away, an immense quantity of provisions, arms, &c. These, however, were not conducted without bloodshed. In one of them, nearly three hundred men lost their lives or were taken. In the month of June, the British army was reinforced by about one thousand men, raised in New York and Jersey. Much time was spent from the month of May, by sir William Howe and general Washington, in endeavours to outwit each other, by feigned advances and retreats. In August, the British fleet entered the Chesapeak, from the eastern heads of which the troops advanced boldly within two miles of the American army, posted at Newport. General Washington, retiring to high ground, near Chad's fort, in the Brandywine creek, purposed to dispute the passage, and, contrary to his usual policy, hazard a general action. Both armies displayed their valour, but the action was not decisive. The royalists had nearly six hundred killed and wounded, and the Americans lost nearly double that number. The marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman, and a

volunteer in the American cause, distinguished himself in this action, and was carried from the field wounded. A few days after, the two armies were about to have again engaged, but a heavy rain, which spoiled the American ammunition, obliged them to retreat. Some idea may be formed of their hardships and their unbroken spirit, from this single circumstance, that above a thousand of them had performed all their late marches without shoes or stockings, and had their feet lacerated by the ice so as to leave a track of blood behind them. On the 20th of this month, general Grey cut to pieces a detachment of three hundred colonists, whom he had surprised in the night, without losing above five or six of his own men. Congress, at this time, found it necessary to retire to Yorktown, while sir William Howe entered Philadelphia. Leaving him to fortify this city at leisure, general Washington formed a design of attacking his troops at Germantown; the best dispositions were made for this expedition, but, as the British were alarmed, it failed of success. The latter, however, lost nearly five hundred men, including the wounded and prisoners, and the Americans upwards of a thousand, of whom four hundred were prisoners.

The colonists having built a fort on Mud-island, which commanded the passage on the Delaware, the royal army had to encounter the greatest difficulties, and many lives were lost in practising the necessary manœuvres to dislodge them. The importance, however, of the object, obliged them to run all risks, as, without being masters of the Delaware, the possession of Philadelphia was rather dangerous than useful. The fort on Mud-island was defended with uncommon bravery; but a ship of war having made her way so as to be able to play with effect upon it, the continentals were obliged to leave their position, after the greater part of the works had been destroyed.

In the beginning of December, sir William Howe again attempted to bring the American army to a general engagement, but, after various marches, countermarches, and some skirmishes, the campaign concluded without this desirable object being attained. The royal army wintered in Philadelphia, and general

Washington posted his main force at Valley Forge, within sixteen miles of the enemy. The British had been successful in almost every engagement; but the great purpose of the war was still frustrated by the spirited resistance of the continentals, and still more by that system of protraction which general Washington had adopted.

The campaign was carried on by the northern army, under the general Burgoyne, with various success, and ended, at length, in the total defeat of his army. It was their object to form a line of communication between New York and Canada. The army destined for the necessary operations consisted of seven thousand British and German troops, with a prodigious quantity of artillery. Several of the savage nations were also induced to join the British army, a circumstance which contributed greatly to inflame the aversion of the Americans to every proposal of reconciliation.

From Quebec, general Burgoyne advanced with his army, in June, to Crown Point, and the American troops at Ticonderoga, finding themselves unable to cope with him, evacuated the place with great secrecy and expedition, leaving a vast quantity of stores and ammunition, the loss of which was severely felt. Success now followed the royal arms with such rapidity, that the cause of the colonies in this quarter was given up as hopeless. It was Burgoyne's purpose to force his way into Albany, or, at least, to be able to join the army at New York. When engaged on this expedition, in the course of which his men underwent fatigues that are almost incredible, colonel St. Leger was endeavouring to co-operate with him in the Mohawk country, and, about the beginning of August, attempted the siege of Fort Schuyler, but was obliged to raise it, and leave a part of his artillery behind him.

Fortune was now changing sides. General Burgoyne, when on his way to Albany, detached about six hundred of his troops to Bennington, to seize a magazine of stores and provisions; but the greater part of this detachment were either killed or wounded, and another party sent to their assistance were also routed. These actions inspired the Americans with confidence,

and greatly disconcerted the plans of the royal army, by detaining it fully a month, waiting for supplies, while the continentals were rallying from all quarters. The next step Burgoyne took was to cross the river Hudson, and in September he encamped on the heights, about two miles from the continental camp, where general Gates had now the chief command. An engagement here took place, which lasted three hours, with great destruction to both sides; but night coming on, the battle was indecisive. Such was the situation after this of the royalists, that a junction with the forces at New York was absolutely necessary. Dispatches were accordingly sent to general Clinton, urging his immediate assistance. A delay of nearly three weeks had diminished the stock of provisions, and an action happened, *in* which the Americans had the advantage, and both armies lost several brave officers. The British, thus embarrassed, removed in the course of one night; and this probably first suggested to the American commander that it was possible to cut off their retreat. To avoid this, general Burgoyne moved to Saratoga, where, after suffering every hardship and mortification, and making many fruitless attempts to extricate his army, he was, at length, obliged to offer a capitulation on honourable terms. His troops were allowed to march out with the honours of war, their arms being to be piled, and their artillery left on the river's edge: a free passage was granted to the troops to England, on condition of not serving again in North America. The rest of the terms were as favourable as the circumstances would permit. Thus, by a series of unfortunate measures, the whole royal army, consisting of five thousand seven hundred and ninety men, were compelled to surrender to the Americans, with all their arms and ammunition. Sir Henry Clinton had endeavoured to conduct an expedition to assist Burgoyne, but, for some reasons which have never been satisfactorily explained, that commander was left to his humiliating fate. The consequences of a victory so important as this, may be easily conceived. In Europe, it raised the character of the American troops; and it is supposed that, according to the natural operation of

success on the human mind, it turned the scale of public opinion in favour of their courage, their strength, and their final success.

When the British parliament assembled, the news of this defeat had not reached England. The armaments which had been for some time preparing in the ports of France and Spain, induced our ministry to make a considerable augmentation of naval force. Large supplies were voted, and resisted by the opposition on the usual grounds: the loss of trade was beginning to be felt, and the issue of a war with France and Spain could only complete our destruction. To strengthen these arguments, and while the augmentation of the army and navy was the subject of contention between the two parties, the news of general Burgoyne's defeat arrived. His expedition being the favourite scheme of the ministry, their disappointment was not to be concealed, and the exultation of the minority was proportionate. But the loss of so great an army rendered it necessary to raise regiments with all possible speed. An appeal was made to the people, and answered according to the wishes of government. Manchester, Liverpool, and many other great towns, raised a thousand men each. The city of London having refused to offer the usual bounty-money, large subscriptions were raised by individuals, and this example was followed in various parts of the nation. In Scotland, several thousand men, chiefly Highlanders, were raised with astonishing expedition. The voice of the people was decidedly for war, and the minister, availing himself of this appearance of loyalty and unanimity, pursued his system with very little control from parliament. In the midst of his operations, however, he surprised the house, by advancing some motions of a conciliatory nature. Two bills were passed; one of which enabled his majesty to appoint commissioners with sufficient powers to treat with the congress, or any provincial assembly, or with general Washington, or any other person. 1778.

The designs of France, which some of the minority had foreseen, became, at length, evident beyond all dispute. His majesty communicated to the parliament,

that the court of France had signed a treaty of amity and commerce with certain persons employed by his majesty's revolted subjects in America, and that he had thought proper to withdraw his ambassador from that court. The French, it was discovered, had dispatched count d'Estaign, with twelve ships of the line, from Toulon, and admiral Byron, with a fleet from Portsmouth, was ready to sail after him.

The remainder of this session was employed in motions brought forward by the minority, for the production of papers which, on the ground of danger, the ministry uniformly resisted; and in disputes relative to Burgoyne's army, the conduct of the lords of the admiralty, &c. In the course of a debate, on a motion made by the duke of Richmond for withdrawing our troops from America, the venerable earl of Chatham, while answering some part of the duke's arguments, was seized with a fainting fit, which in a few days ended in his death. The loss of this able statesman was severely felt; and all ranks and parties joined in honouring his memory. His character may be summed up in a few words. His country knew him to be incorruptible; and the enemies of his country found him to be invincible. Few men have better tempered the love of liberty with the love of their country. It is to be regretted, that he had been so long excluded from the councils of state; he, whose opinions had never proved false, and whose plans had never proved abortive. What he was convinced was wise, he undertook; and what he undertook, he never departed from.

As the conciliatory bills introduced by the minister constituted the last effort of the kind which Great Britain made, it is necessary to dwell for a moment on the nature and effect of them. They arrived in America before congress had heard of the effect of their negociation with France, and after being taken into consideration, congress declared that they could not hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they should, as a preliminary, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the states. The commissioners here

alluded to were governor Johnstone, lord Carlile, and Mr. Eden. They opened their commission soon after this by a letter to congress, in which they offered to concur in the following articles:—to consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land: to restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, throughout the several parts of this empire: to extend every freedom of trade that our respective interests can require: to agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North-America, without the consent of the general congress, or particular assemblies: to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation: to perpetuate our union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed: in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, in civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North-America, acting with us in peace and war, under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends.

Whether the congress suspected the sincerity of these offers, or that, after a negociation had commenced, they might be thrown off their guard, and less favourable terms be insisted upon; whether their minds, irritated by the devastation of their country, were now steeled against amity with Great Britain; or whether they thought they had already pledged themselves to France beyond what they could honourably retract, (for they had now heard that the

treaty was signed,) may admit of an argument. Perhaps all these reasons combined in forming the answer they returned to the commissioners, which was in substance, that they had already decided against the conciliatory bills, and that no other proof of the disposition of the king of Great Britain towards a peace would be accepted than his explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the states, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies. Notwithstanding this, the commissioners left no means untried to procure a more amicable adjustment; but the congress were inflexible; and some reports of an attempt to bribe certain members of congress, though positively disavowed by the commissioners, gained the people over to their opinion. Finding all endeavours to be fruitless, the commissioners issued a manifesto, in which, among other things, it was stated, that the whole contest was now changed, and the question was, How far Great Britain might, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain, and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy.

We now return to the progress of the war. Larger narrations may admit of a minute detail of skirmishes and petty encounters; but these so much resemble each other in all wars, and contribute so little to the main purposes of history, that we shall notice only the more important actions. The spring was nearly over before the contending armies began to act. Count d'Estaign's squadron of twelve ships of the line and four frigates entered the Delaware in the beginning of July, which rendered it nccessary for the British to evacuate Philadelphia and remove to New York, as a grand centre. The passage of the royal army into New Jersey was effected with incredible perseverance, amid innumerable difficulties. The Americans detached large bodies to fall upon their rear; and, to oppose those, sir Henry Clinton placed his

grenadiers, light infantry, and chasseurs, in his rear, and the baggage in front. General Lee was appointed to command the American army on this expedition; and great hopes were entertained of its success; but when general Washington marched up to assist, he found that Lee had given orders for a retreat. Soon after, the artillery of both armies engaged; about 250 of the Americans were killed and wounded, and the royalists, including prisoners, lost about 350; but night put a stop to the action, and, before morning, the British army had retreated, leaving a few wounded men behind them, who could not be carried off, and reached Sandy Hook without further interruption. General Lee was brought to trial for his conduct, and sentenced to one year's suspension from public service. The Americans now posted at White Plains, and afterward marched to Middlebrook, in Jersey. Congress returned to Philadelphia, from which they had been absent only nine months. Here they received M. Gerard as plenipotentiary from the court of France; a circumstance which, in their opinion, gave a dignity and consequence to their confederacy.

Count d'Estaign appeared on the coast of America when the British fleet and army were stationed in the harbour and city of New York. Had d'Estaign arrived when the English fleet was in the Delaware, his superior force must have made an easy prey. He faced them, however, in a few days, off Sandy Hook; but not thinking an attack either prudent or practicable, he sailed for New York, and by this last motion lost an opportunity of capturing admiral Byron's small fleet. The expedition of the French admiral against Rhode Island, after various manœuvres, proved abortive; and the inefficacy of his measures, added to the loss of the season, which was now drawing to a close, disheartened the Americans, whose expectations of success were more sanguine than either his courage or his conduct could justify. The English fleet were inferior in force, but in bravery and management greatly superior. As soon as sir Henry Clinton found that the Americans had left Rhode Island, he sent a detachment to Bedford and its neighbourhood, who

destroyed above seventy sail of shipping, with various magazines, warehouses, and stores, to a great amount. Another expedition of a similar nature was conducted, about the same time, with equal success, and a regiment of American light dragoons were surprised and cut to pieces by a party commanded by major-general Grey. A fruitless attempt against East-Florida is to be added to the list of American losses, while the conquest of Savannah, the capital of Georgia, decided the present campaign in favour of the English.

It remains to be mentioned, that, about the end of this year, count d'Estaign took St. Vincent and Grenada; and the British, St. Lucia. About the same time, the marquis de Bouille, governor of Martinico, surprised and took the island of Dominica.

The system of war became now so far changed, that the year we are entering upon presents us with little more than various acts of distress and desola-
1779. tion, committed by detachments from the respective armies. Two expeditions, the one to Virginia and the other to Connecticut, afford melancholy instances of the miseries of civil war. The most wanton barbarities were practised on the inhabitants without regard to age or sex, and property of all kinds was destroyed.

Two events of importance, which distinguished the war in the western world, were the capture of Stoney Point, on North river, and the surprise of the British garrison of Powles Hook, opposite New York. By the former, the British lost 63 men killed, and 543 who were taken prisoners; in the latter, 130 were killed, and 160 taken. In both actions, the courage of the American commanders was not more conspicuous than their humanity. In other attempts, however, of this kind, they were not equally successful; and from the peculiar situation of general Washington's army, he was unwilling to weaken it, by dividing it into predatory detachments.

In the south, the British were now for the first time endeavouring to re-establish government in Carolina and Georgia. Their armies were reinforced by great bodies of loyalists; but, as a considerable part of them

enlisted merely for the sake of plunder, or from motives of fear and temporary security, they contributed neither to the success nor the reputation of our arms; for no sooner was a body of them defeated in a skirmish, than the rest returned to their homes. Notwithstanding this, the British were extending their fastnesses so far, that general Lincoln thought it adviseable to cross into Georgia, and bound their progress; but of 1500 men sent on this expedition, only 450 returned to their camp, the rest being killed by the English, or taken prisoners, or drowned in attempting to make their escape. A like fate attended another expedition of the Americans into Georgia; and the British army, flushed with success, pushed on the capture of Charleston, although, as it was found to be too strongly fortified, the design was for the present abandoned. On the other hand, a great body of the Americans, who attempted to besiege Savannah, were defeated and compelled to raise the siege. D'Estaign commanded on this occasion, and, after the defeat, reimbarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent; and the American troops retreated over the river Savannah. The history of this campaign is singular. During the whole of it the perseverance and intrepidity of the English were as remarkable as the hesitating and ill-conducted exertions of the Americans: yet, notwithstanding the former, the English were yet confined to their original boundaries in Georgia; and, notwithstanding the latter, the spirit of the Americans, though weakened, was not broken; and no state, town, or village, ever thought of accepting the terms held out by the commissioners.

During these transactions abroad, government found it expedient to call forth the most powerful exertions. Admiral Keppel was appointed commander of the fleet at Portsmouth; and, about the month of June, 1778, he was enabled to set sail with twenty ships of the line. War had not at this time been proclaimed, nor reprisals ordered; but, coming up with two French frigates, the admiral conceived himself to be justified in taking them; and learning, at the same time, that the French fleet at Brest consisted of thirty-two sail

of the line, he returned to Portsmouth, and on the 3d of July he was enabled to take to sea with thirty sail of the line. On the 23d, the two fleets were in sight of each other, and, on the morning of the 27th, an engagement took place, which lasted with great fury for upward of three hours. One hundred and thirty-three of the British were killed, and three hundred and seventy-three wounded: the French lost upward of two thousand. This would have been "a proud day for Great Britain," but for an unfortunate misunderstanding between the commander-in-chief and admiral Palliser, vice admiral of the blue, which prevented the action from being decisive. Few events have occasioned a greater clamour at home. Admiral Keppel was tried by a court-martial, who, after a hearing of thirty days, honourably acquitted him of all the charges. Neither he, however, nor Palliser, served afterward in the war. When the parliament met, the opposition proposed to enquire, by what fatal councils, and unhappy system of policy, this country had been reduced to her present situation; and, as usual, boldly attacked the ministry on their incapacity and inconsistency. General Burgoyne arraigned lord George Germaine, the secretary for the American department, with great acrimony; and Mr. Fox, at several times, moved to censure the conduct of lord Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty. The conduct of admirals Keppel and Palliser, and of lord and general Howe, was also the subject of great altercation in both houses. But while these disputes were in agitation, another enemy was announced. Spain had joined its ancient animosities with those of France, and the ambassadors from the respective courts were recalled. The minority now urged the necessity of withdrawing our forces from America, and directing them against the house of Bourbon. With the same effect, they recommended a total change of men and measures. The whole session presented a scene of useless altercation, and closed its sittings about the beginning of July.

1779.

The war between the French and English in the East-Indies commenced, near the end of last year, by

an attack on the French settlement at Pondicherry. The siege of this important place was conducted by major-general Munro, commander of the East-India company's troops on the coast of Coromandel, and by sea he was assisted by the English fleet under sir Edward Vernon, who had driven a superior French fleet from the place. The garrison of Pondicherry made a brave defence, but the governor was obliged at length to capitulate, and on terms which did honour to the generosity of the victors. The company's troops, which amounted to upward of 10,000, had about 220 slain, and near 700 wounded. The garrison, amounting only to 3000, had 200 killed, and near 500 wounded.

In the beginning of this year, the French sent a squadron, commanded by the marquis de Vaudreuil, and a land force, commanded by the duke de Lauzun, to the coast of Africa, where they easily took possession of the British settlements, forts, and property, at Senegal. Sir Edward Hughes, on the other hand, seized the island of Goree, and placed a strong garrison in it. During the summer, the French made an attempt on the island of Jersey, which was defeated by sir James Wallace taking some of their frigates. The ministry had as yet adopted no plan to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, which was actually accomplished about the middle of August, when this formidable combined force, to the terror of the whole nation, entered the British channel, and, after parading for two days off Plymouth, retired without offering any attack. Their purpose, if they had any beyond that of ostentation, seems to have been to watch the British fleet; but sir Charles Hardy, who commanded that fleet, entered the channel without any interruption.

LETTER LXXV.

THE campaign we are now entering upon was composed of few circumstances which tended to accelerate the decision of the important question. After the de-

parture of the French fleet, sir Henry Clinton embarked with a great army, on an expedition against the capital of South-Carolina; and vice-admiral Arbuthnot was to second him with a naval force adequate to the object in view. Though the passage of this army, from New York to Charleston, was tedious, and in some respects disastrous, yet they arrived before the place in a condition for immediate attack. On the army taking post at Ashley river, the assembly of the state, then sitting, broke up, and appointed the governor to take proper steps for its defence. The town was discovered by the British troops to be so completely fortified, that sir Henry Clinton thought it necessary to wait for reinforcements from New York and Savannah; but, immediately on their arrival, he began the siege with great spirit and effect. His army and navy had a decided superiority, and, after a variety of ineffectual operations, on the part of the town, general Lincoln, the commander, was under the necessity of surrendering on the terms offered by sir Henry Clinton, the nature of which was highly honourable to his generosity and magnanimity. The loss of men killed in this siege was nearly equal, but the amount of the prisoners of war, in consequence of the surrender, was at least six thousand, a great proportion of which were officers. General Lincoln had to encounter the censures of the cautious on this occasion; but it does not appear that he erred otherwise than by departing from the system pursued by general Washington, who never attempted to defend any post or place without the possibility of securing a retreat.

Before general Clinton went on any other expedition, he took some measures to bring the inhabitants to a sense of their duty as British subjects. He published sundry addresses and remonstrances, and combining fear with persuasion, posted garrisons in different parts of the country, to keep the people in awe. Two thousand men were marched to North-Carolina, and colonel Tarleton defeated and cut to pieces a detachment of 300 Americans at Wachaws, with hardly any loss on his own side. After these proceedings, sir Henry Clinton embarked for New York, leaving four

thousand men for the southern service, the chief command devolving on lord Cornwallis, who, in providing for the civil and commercial arrangements of this province, found the people in general submissive: in many places they laid down their arms, and partly from fear, and partly from a desire of peace, professed their obedience as subjects. The persons who had been taken in arms in Charleston were now released from their parole, and it was expected they would have embraced such an opportunity to arm in favour of the British government; but to this they could not be reconciled, and many began to arm in their own defence.

In the mean time, the Americans were preparing a force to check the progress of the British army; and colonel Sumpter, at the head of a party of exiles from South-Carolina, defeated a detachment of the royal army posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. Encouraged by this success, his troops soon augmented to the number of six hundred, who evinced their intrepidity in other skirmishes; and the British commanders had now the mortification to see hostilities renewed where they hoped they had established peace and loyalty. An American army was likewise approaching to South-Carolina, under the command of general Gates, and the cause of congress seemed to revive. Gates's army amounted to four thousand men, including militia. Lord Cornwallis had not above half this number; yet he marched from Charleston to Cambden, and determined to give battle. In the night of the 15th of August the two armies met, and an engagement ensued, in which the continentals were completely defeated, with great loss of men and stores, owing, among other circumstances, to the cowardice of their militia. The capture and defeat of Sumpter's detachment followed this engagement. Toward the close of this year, a British detachment was defeated near the confines of North and South Carolina, by a large body of newly-raised American militia. The British, under the command of major Ferguson, behaved with uncommon spirit; but their encampment being injudicious, and no chance of retreat being left, they were

obliged to surrender themselves prisoners, to the number of eight hundred. The gallant Ferguson was mortally wounded.

The campaign in South-Carolina affording no other action of importance, we turn now to the affairs in the northern states, which bore a singular complexion at this time. General Kniphausen undertook an excursion into Jersey from New York, with five thousand men. His progress was marked with considerable devastation, as the American troops were not able to resist; but the expedition ended without apparently having any object in view, and certainly without accomplishing any action of importance.

In this crisis, a French fleet and army arrived at Rhode Island, in July. The fleet, commanded by M. de Ternay, consisted of seven ships of the line, five frigates, and five sloops. The army amounted to six thousand men, under count de Rochambeau. The arrival of admiral Graves, however, with six sail of the line, and his consequent junction with admiral Arbuthnot, who had four, gave the British fleet a decided superiority, and they determined to attack the French at Rhode Island: this being found impracticable, the English blocked up the fleet and army of the enemy, and thus rendered them useless to the Americans; a disappointment yet exceeded by another, which showed how little was to be expected from the wisdom of the French commanders. Count de Guichen, the French admiral in the West-Indies, was to have joined M. de Ternay, and thus have gained a superiority, against which the English could not have stood; but, instead of this, Guichen sailed for France.

While the assistance sent by their new ally was thus rendered ineffectual, an enemy appeared in their confederacy, who had like to have involved their whole cause in ruin. General Arnold, who had so often fought for the independence of the states, now engaged, for a stipulated sum, to betray into the hands of the British an important post, the keeping of which he had solicited; this was called West Point, the Gibraltar of America, and built for the defence of

North river. It was a place of vast consequence, and the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss would have been severely felt, and perhaps, would at this time have been fatal, but the scheme was baffled in the outset. Major André, an English officer of acknowledged spirit and bravery, was selected to conduct the secret negociation between general Arnold and sir Henry Clinton. By mistake, André fell into the hands of some of the scouts belonging to the Americans, and his papers being found upon him, the whole plot was discovered. André was tried, and hanged as a spy. Arnold, however, made his escape, and joined the British army, of which he was made a brigadier-general. The British universally censured general Washington for his severity toward André, while the Americans were of opinion, that he had forfeited those privileges which a fair and open enemy may claim. General Arnold wrote an ingenious defence of his conduct, in abandoning the cause he had fought and bled to support, and professed that he went cordially with the Americans before their alliance with France, but from that time he had become a loyalist, and only retained his arms and command, waiting for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain.

I should now return to the war with France and Spain, but it will be necessary first to glance at the state of affairs at home, especially as an event of a very extraordinary kind occurred in the metropolis, which cannot so properly be introduced as in its connection with the affairs of parliament.

When the legislature assembled in the latter end of last year, the ministers announced their design to prosecute the war with spirit, and to break that most unnatural confederacy which had been formed against this island. The opposition, resuming their accustomed topics, cried aloud for a change of men and measures, deprecating a continuance of that system of folly and debility, which had brought the nation into its present dilemma, and entailed disgrace on the British name and arms. In Ireland, a spirit of discontent had long been observed, arising from encumbrances on their trade; and they had now formed a powerful military association, the use of which it did not

appear was to be confined to protection from foreign enemies only. Alarmed at this mode of resistance, lord Shelburne endeavoured to call the attention of the house to an object of so much urgency; and some bills were brought in by the minister, for the relief of the trade of that country.

Petitions were now presented from all parts of England against the measures of administration. Many undeniable events had confirmed the arguments of the opposition, and a general bias appeared in favour of economy and retrenchment in public expenses. In parliament, however, little was conceded to the wishes of the minority, and a prorogation was approaching, when the metropolis became on a sudden a scene of confusion and ferocious riot, that has no parallel in our history. It is necessary to trace this to its source.

About two years before, a bill had passed both houses, granting certain relief to the Roman catholics from the penal laws. The times were conceived to be sufficiently liberal for this indulgence, and it is probable that it would have been universally acceptable, had not a set of bigots arisen, who disgraced the close of the eighteenth century, by inflaming the minds of the people against the Roman catholics. Lord George Gordon, a member of the house of commons, had often talked wildly on this subject, but little attention was paid to him, until he placed himself at the head of a society of numerous but obscure individuals, who called themselves the protestant association. By means of the hand-bills of this society, nearly fifty thousand persons assembled, on the 2d of June, in St. George's fields, to accompany lord George to the house of commons, with a petition for the repeal of the lenient act in favour of the Roman catholics. This mob proceeded over London-bridge, through the City and Westminster to the parliament, where they completely surrounded the several avenues, waiting the fate of their petition, which was ordered to be read on the Tuesday following. On this, the majority of the mob began to disperse; but a body of them immediately went to the Romish chapel in Duke-street, Lincoln's-Inn fields,

and to that in Warwick-street, Golden-square, both of which they demolished, burning the valuable furniture, pictures, &c. On the appearance of a party of the guards they dispersed, and that night and the following day passed without any repetition of violence. On Sunday, however, the mob again assembled, and destroyed the popish chapel in Moorfields. Next day they demolished some houses belonging to Roman catholics in the same place, and, dividing themselves into parties, carried destruction to the houses of several gentlemen in Westminster, who had been active in promoting, what they called, the Popery Act. All this time, no efforts of any kind had been made to repress these riots. A general panic had seized all ranks of men. On Tuesday, the day appointed by parliament to take the petition of the protestant association into consideration, the mob, as numerous as on the preceding Friday, though less regular, again surrounded the house, and insulted many of the members, insomuch that both houses broke up, declaring that no act of theirs could be legal, while they were thus awed by a licentious mob and surrounded by a military force. That night the mob attacked, and, in a few hours, set fire to, the goal of Newgate, liberating the prisoners, who joined their deliverers; they also destroyed the houses of some of the magistrates of Westminster, of lord Mansfield, whose valuable manuscripts and library were irrecoverably lost, and of many private citizens in different parts. Parties of the guards were called out in Westminster, but they either came too late, or did nothing.

On the following day, the mob, reinforced by the prisoners of Newgate, Clerkenwell Bridewell, and New Prison, extended their havoc to various parts of the city of London and borough of Southwark, in which latter they were opposed by an association of the inhabitants, who killed and wounded several, took others prisoners, and put the rest to flight. The King's-bench prison, however, with three houses adjoining, and the New Bridewell, were set on fire, and almost entirely consumed. In London, the outrages of this mob were as yet uninterrupted: the

valuable premises of an eminent distiller in Holborn were set on fire, and, owing to the vast quantity of spirits in that manufactory, burnt with immense fury: a great many of the rioters are said to have lost their lives here, by being surrounded with the flames, while in a state of intoxication. Nothing could exceed the terror and consternation which pervaded the City at this time. The Bank, and all public offices, were known to be marked out for destruction, and property of every kind seemed an easy prey to this ferocious banditti, when an order was issued, by the authority of the king in council, for the military to act, without waiting for directions from the civil magistrates, and to use force for dispelling the illegal and tumultuous assemblies of the people. In consequence of this, many of the rioters were killed by the military in various parts of the town, and the lord-mayor of London, recovering in some degree from that wretched pusillanimity of which he was so justly accused, began to take some steps for the protection of the City.

On the 8th, the guards having been found insufficient in number to defend every part of the metropolis, all the troops and militia within thirty miles were sent for, and by their exertions peace was at length restored. Such was the lenity, or rather the forbearance, of the civil and military power, that only about two hundred and eighty, in all, of the rioters were killed, and about eighty wounded and taken prisoners. The day following this restoration of order, lord George Gordon was apprehended for high-treason, and committed to the Tower: he was tried a few months after, and acquitted. Other persons connected with the protestant association were also taken up and examined, but dismissed for want of evidence.

This riot was, in every respect, the most extraordinary that ever happened. It will, perhaps, in future times, be scarcely believed, that a mob of obscure and unarmed men, without a visible plan of action, or ostensible leaders, should carry devastation into every part of the metropolis for nearly a week, while the civil and military powers stood by as harmless spectators. That the city of London, which contains a pro-

perty, the destruction of which could not fail to penetrate to the most distant parts of the island, should be thus left a prey to a lawless rabble, is with difficulty to be accounted for. Perhaps, the formidable appearance of the petitioners, who surrounded the parliament-house, might have its share in occasioning a greater panic than had a real foundation. Perhaps the cowardly timidity of the chief magistrate of London might communicate like an infectious disorder to his fellow citizens. It is certain, that a very small share of spirit on his part would, at the beginning, have checked the violence of the mob; but by some strange infatuation it happened that neither in London nor Westminster were any effectual steps taken, before a property of several millions was destroyed, and the commercial prosperity of the nation brought into imminent danger.

As to the causes of this riot, they are not so difficult to find; although, as is often the case where the mob govern, the original object was changed in the course of their progress. The protestant association laboured hard to throw the weight of odium from their shoulders, and to persuade the world that none of their body had any hand in the general destruction. This may be true; but they will find it not an easy matter to prove that none of the petitioners who assembled in St. George's fields belonged to the mob; and still less easy will they find it to separate the sentiments of bigotry from the actions of persecution. There can be no doubt, that the clamour raised against the Roman catholics, and that only, was the primary cause of the riot. And those who fly for support to the passions of a mob, ought to learn, from the history of these riots, that it is not by inflaming the passions, but instructing the mind, that the people can be rendered useful; and they ought to remember, that this mob, which first assembled to burn the chapels and destroy the property of Roman catholics, in a few days aimed destruction at all property without distinction. In some parts of the country, about this time, a riotous disposition had appeared, but the mischief done was trifling.

The business of parliament had now been interrupted for nearly a fortnight. When the houses met, some altercation took place respecting the orders which had been given to employ the military without waiting for the directions of the civil power; and at the same time it was acknowledged that a delicacy in this very point had been the cause of all the mischief which happened. Soon after, this parliament was prorogued, and on the 8th of December following dissolved.

LETTER LXXVI.

THE naval advantages gained by the English fleet over that of France and Spain, if not equal in proportion to those of former wars, were at least sufficient to vindicate the superiority of Great Britain on her proper element. Toward the close of last year, sir Hyde Parker, who was stationed in the West-Indies, took several war and merchant ships from the enemy; and rear-admiral Rowley took three ships of war, one of forty-two, one of thirty-six, and one of twenty guns, having on board in all about six hundred men. But the most brilliant actions of this campaign were reserved for the gallant sir George Brydges Rodney. This officer was entrusted with a fleet, the particular destination of which was to relieve Gibraltar, now besieged by the Spaniards. In his voyage to that place, he, on the 8th of January, fell in with a convoy of twenty-two sail of Spanish merchantmen, under protection of seven ships of war, belonging to the royal company of Caraccas. In a few hours, sir George made himself master of the whole fleet. About a week after, he engaged, near Cape St. Vincent, another Spanish fleet, consisting of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, commanded by don Juan de Langara; and, notwithstanding the gallant defence made by the latter, sir George carried four of their largest ships, one of eighty and three of seventy guns, into Gibraltar. Two others were taken at the same time, one of which was driven on shore and lost; the other was also run

on shore, but recovered. Four ships of the line escaped, two of them very much damaged: and in the course of the action, the San Domingo, of seventy guns and six hundred men, was blown up. No victory could be more complete. The five men of war taken were soon added to the British navy. The treatment of the Spanish prisoners on this occasion was in general so humane, as to make a great impression on the Spanish nation; and the good effect of this policy was felt in the course of the war.

After supplying the garrison of Gibraltar with provision and ammunition, sir George proceeded on his voyage to the West-Indies, where he took the chief command of his majesty's ships at the Leeward islands. On the 17th of April, an engagement happened between his fleet, amounting to twenty ships of the line, beside frigates, and the French fleet, which consisted of twenty-three sail of the line and some frigates, commanded by count de Guichen. The day was undecided, both parties claiming the victory; but no ship was taken by either. The French fought bravely. From admiral Rodney's dispatches to the admiralty, it would appear, that he did not think himself so well supported as he ought to have been. Of his men, one hundred and twenty were killed, and three hundred and fifty-three wounded. On the 15th and 19th of May two other engagements took place between those fleets, which ended in nothing decisive. The English lost sixty-eight men, and had two hundred and ninety-five wounded. The French fleet stated their loss in the three engagements at only one hundred and fifty-eight killed, and eight hundred and twenty wounded. Before admiral Rodney arrived in the West-Indies, a part of sir Peter Parker's squadron, commanded by commodore Cornwallis, consisting of a sixty-four, a fifty, and a forty-gun ship, engaged a squadron, commanded by M. de la Motte Piquet, of two seventy-four gun ships, a sixty-four, and a fifty-six; but, though the action lasted the whole night and part of the following day, no ship was taken on either side. Rear-admiral Digby, who was appointed by admiral Rodney to carry home from Gibraltar part of his fleet with the

Spanish prizes, fell in with a French man of war of sixty-four guns and seven hundred men, which was added to the list of captures.

In the month of June, the French and Spanish fleets joined in the West-Indies, and composed a formidable force of thirty-six sail of the line. With these the English fleet could not have contended; and the situation of our islands appeared to be alarmingly critical. The combined fleet, however, made no attack on any of them, nor seemed desirous to meet with sir George Rodney, who at this time lay at Gross-islet bay. The fortress of Gibraltar continued to be besieged by the Spaniards, who made an ineffectual attempt to burn the English shipping by means of fire-ships; but such was the activity of the English, and the excellent dispositions made to counteract the plot, that the Spaniards were compelled to retreat without executing their design in the least degree.

But in August the commerce of this country received a considerable shock, by the unexpected capture of five East-India and fifty West-India ships, which were proceeding on their voyage outward, under convoy of the Ramilies, of seventy-four guns, and two frigates, and unfortunately fell in with the combined fleet of France and Spain. The Ramilies and the two frigates escaped, but the merchantmen unavoidably became a prey. It was on this occasion that the good effects of sir George Rodney's humanity appeared. The Spaniards seemed to make it a point of honour to repay the favour by a similar treatment, of the numerous English who now became their prisoners.

The close of this year was distinguished by the addition of another enemy to the formidable combination already in arms. Complaints from England had repeatedly been made to the states general of Holland, that their ships carried on a contraband trade of ammunition, &c. with our enemies; this was as frequently denied on the part of their high mightinesses, who retaliated, by complaining that our ships of war had done great mischief to their trade, by stopping and capturing their vessels, on pretence of having contraband goods on board. Various remonstrances passed

between the two courts on this subject, very little to the satisfaction of either; and it was easy to discover, that the temperate and conciliating language of allies was verging into the cold and haughty style of two powers whose friendship was on the wane. An affair, which happened at the conclusion of this year, brought the dispute to an issue. Among the papers of a Mr. Laurens, an American, who was taken on board a congress-packet in his way to Holland on an embassy, was the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America. The English ambassador at the Hague demanded that this should be disavowed on the part of the states general. They, after various delays, informed the ambassador, that his memorial was taken *ad referendum*, a tedious process peculiar to the constitution of the republic, but which evidently appearing in the present case to be a manœuvre to gain time. The ambassador was ordered by the British court to withdraw from the Hague, and a declaration of hostilities was published against Holland. Whatever answer the Dutch intended to return to the English memorial, it was plain they were not prepared for immediate hostilities. To have been permitted to be common carriers to all the belligerent powers would no doubt have been far more grateful to the genius of that people. So unprepared were they for a war, that, in a few weeks after this declaration, almost their whole shipping-trade fell into the hands of the English men of war and privateers, a misfortune which very considerably checked their first progress to equip a fleet.

Although, contrary to the practice of former times, the present administration had carried on the war without any ally, yet expectations of assistance from Russia were entertained. But that power was never less disposed than at present to co-operate with Great Britain. In the course of this year, a grand project was contrived by the northern courts, which they termed "an armed neutrality, for the protection of neutral navigation and commerce." The courts of Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Russia, Vienna, Lisbon, and Naples, were concerned in this confederacy. The

scheme, which originated in the court of Petersburgh, was communicated by the empress to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. By the former, it was acknowledged with civility; but the satisfaction it evidently afforded to the two other courts, very plainly pointed to the nature of its operation; for they were now certain of a constant supply of every article necessary to carry on the war, safely and cheaply conveyed to them, in any quarter where it should be wanted. The merit or demerit, however, of this scheme, does not, after all, rest with the empress of Russia. It has been since discovered, that she was but the dupe of her minister, who wished, for certain political purposes, to ruin the English minister at her court.

LETTER LXXVII.

WE are now arrived at the last campaign in North-America, which began with appearances the most unfavourable that can be conceived to the continentals, and yet ended in the total defeat of the British army, and the complete overthrow of the royal cause. The events which led to this unexpected revolution were few, but striking.

1781.

The year commenced with the revolt of a very great part of the American army, forming what was called the Pennsylvania line. Independent of the wretched state of the continental soldiers as to dress, provisions, &c. some misunderstanding had arisen respecting the conditions of their service. Thirteen hundred of them in one day assembled, and declared they would serve no longer, unless their grievances were redressed. Some rioting ensued, and a few lost their lives. Collecting all their artillery, stores, waggons, &c. the revolters marched out of the camp, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of their commander, general Wayne, and, after proceeding to a considerable distance, took an advantageous post, and elected officers from among themselves. Intelligence of this having arrived at New York, sir Henry Clinton judged it to

be a favourable opportunity to induce them to join the royal standard, and sent messengers, informing them that they should be directly taken under the protection of the British government, receive a free pardon for all former offences, and that the pay due from the congress should be made up to them, without any condition of military service, unless it should be voluntary, and that they were only expected to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. They were also recommended to move beyond the South river, and were promised the protection of a body of British troops whenever they desired it. But these revolters were not influenced by disaffection to the American cause, and therefore rejected general Clinton's terms with disdain, at the same time delivering up his messengers to congress. A committee was now sent from congress to them, and assurances having been made that all grievances should be redressed, such as desired it were permitted to return to their own homes. The British messengers, after a trial before a board of officers, were condemned and executed; and the revolters refused the pecuniary reward offered by the president of congress for having apprehended them. Their example, however, created a spirit of mutiny; about one hundred and sixty of the Jersey troops revolted, and it was found necessary to punish the ringleaders with severity; in consequence of which the rest returned to their duty.

On the outset of this campaign, lord Cornwallis was preparing to enter into North-Carolina. His first step was considerably embarrassed by the American general Morgan having attempted to possess himself of the important district of Ninety-six. It was necessary, if possible, to prevent this, and colonel Tarleton was detached with three hundred cavalry, three hundred light infantry, the seventh regiment, the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, with two three-pounders. These soon came up with the Americans, whose troops were more numerous, but so inferior in other respects, that a victory seemed certain. After a bloody engagement, however, in which it has been conceived, that the precipitation of the British, and the peculiarly

happy disposition of the Americans, turned the tide of fortune contrary to all probability, the royalists were completely defeated. Upward of 300 were killed or wounded, and above 500 prisoners taken. Eight hundred muskets, two field-pieces, thirty-five baggage waggons, beside horses, fell into the hands of the Americans, whose loss amounted only to twelve killed and sixty wounded. All the detachment of the royal artillery were either killed or wounded in defence of their colours. After the engagement, colonel Tarleton retreated to Hamilton's ford.

Disappointed in this object, his lordship endeavoured to form a junction with general Leslie, who had been ordered to meet him with a body of troops from Winnsborough, while part of the army were employed in an ineffectual attempt to regain the prisoners taken by general Morgan, and intercept his corps on its retreat to the Catawba. Halting for two days to disencumber his troops from their superfluous baggage, his lordship marched through North-Carolina with great rapidity, and reached the remotest extremities of the province, on the banks of the Dan. The only opposition he met with, deserving of notice, was when he crossed the Catawba at M'Gowan's ford, where general Davidson, with a party of American militia, endeavoured to oppose his passage; but that officer being killed at the first discharge, his men retreated, and the royal army landed without any further interruption. At Hillsborough, his lordship set up the king's standard, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it. Some hundreds of the inhabitants came to the camp, but seemed more desirous to secure themselves than to take any active part in the war. While this attempt was making to revive loyalty, general Greene, who had been appointed to an important service, was forming plans to impede the progress of the royal army. Having in part accomplished these, by joining a continental regiment of men raised for eighteen months, and two large bodies of militia from Virginia and North-Carolina, he resolved to attack lord Cornwallis's army. On the 15th of March the action commenced at Guildford, with great spirit on both sides,

and, after a series of well-managed manœuvres, which seemed to leave victory doubtful, she at length declared for the British army; but it was so dearly bought on their part, that there was no room for triumph. It proved that the American troops, under disadvantages almost insurmountable, were arriving at perfection in the art of war; and what was wanting in discipline was made up by the superior skill of their officers. The British lost in this battle 532 killed, wounded, and missing. General Greene stated the loss of the continentals at 329 killed, wounded, and missing; but the loss of militia are not included here.

After the battle of Guildford, general Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis removed toward Wilmington. His army at this time was nearly destitute of necessaries; but here meeting with refreshment, the march was continued across the country to Petersburgh, in Virginia. General Greene had followed his army for some time, but now conceived the design of opposing the king's forces in South-Carolina. On the 19th of April, he appeared before Camden, a post defended by lord Rawdon with about 800 British and provincials. Finding it impossible to storm the town, he endeavoured to induce the troops to make a sally. Lord Rawdon, a few days after, gratified the American general's wishes, and attacked him in his camp with such spirit, that the Americans were obliged to fly, and were pursued nearly three miles. The retreat of two of their companies is said to have occasioned this defeat. The loss of the English was about 100 killed and wounded: the Americans had about 120 killed and wounded, and 100 taken prisoners. After the engagement, general Greene retired to Rugley's mills, about twelve miles from Camden, where he was contriving to repair the loss of this day by a more certain attack on lord Rawdon. His lordship, sensible that he could not retain his post without hazarding his troops, evacuated the place, and marched to the southward of Santee. The Americans had lately made themselves masters of several other posts that had been occupied by the king's troops. In the siege of Ninety-six, however, general Greene was repulsed with great

loss. During these transactions, a large body of British troops, under the command of general Philips, and brigadier-general Arnold, embarked on an expedition, the object of which was to destroy American stores, and this they accomplished to an immense amount.

Lord Cornwallis, before he reached Wilmington, after his victory over general Greene, published a proclamation in favour of the royal cause, holding forth considerable inducements to such of the Americans as would accept his terms. But this produced little effect. While in Virginia, his lordship's situation began to be very critical; no reinforcements and supplies came, as were expected, from sir Henry Clinton, at New York, who was prevented by his fears for that city, against which, it was supposed, general Washington had meditated a formidable attack, in conjunction with the marquis de la Fayette and an immense body of French troops, which had lately arrived from that kingdom. A manœuvre, it is asserted, was practised, to draw sir Henry Clinton into this belief: a letter from the American general was intercepted, which contained the design of an attack on New York. It is said, however, on the other hand, that this was no manœuvre, but a real accident, and that when this letter was written, the plan of the American army was against New York. The effect, however, was the same, and sir Henry was prevented from sending that assistance which lord Cornwallis judged to be necessary to the success of his operations. Lord Cornwallis, in the mean time, had taken possession of Yorktown and Gloucester, in Virginia, and was fortifying them in the best manner he could; while general Washington suddenly quitted his camp at White Plains, crossed the Delaware, and marched toward Virginia; and count de Grasse, the French admiral, prepared to enter the Chesapeak, and co-operate with him.

Toward the end of August, sir Samuel Hood, with a squadron from the West-Indies, joined admiral Greaves, who lay at New York, and arrived in the Chesapeak on the 5th of September, with nineteen

ships of the line; but de Grasse had anchored in that bay, some days before, with twenty-four ships of the line. The fleets, notwithstanding this disparity, came to an action, which ended without a decisive loss on either side. The British fleet had 90 killed, and 246 wounded, and some of the ships were greatly damaged, and one so terribly shattered that they were obliged to set fire to her. The fleets remained in sight of each other for five days; after which the French anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. The British fleet then retired to New York; and the French remaining in possession of the Chesapeak, it was thought inexpedient to send assistance immediately to lord Cornwallis.

The combined forces proceeded to Yorktown, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeak: on the 25th of Sept. they rendezvoused at Williamsburgh, and, in five days after, moved down to invest Yorktown; the French fleet at the same time taking such a position as prevented lord Cornwallis from retreating by water. The army halted, in the evening, about two miles from Yorktown. The Americans amounted to near 8000 continentals, and 5000 militia. The French troops amounted to nearly 7000, with a very considerable train of artillery, under the command of the count de Rochambeau. General Washington acted as commander-in-chief. On the 29th the town was completely invested, and the British army quite blocked up.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown, on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in the front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade and by batteries. On the left of the centre was a horn-work with a ditch, a row of frise and an abatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. On the 9th and 10th of October the French and the Americans opened their batteries: in six days after, the works of the place were so much damaged that they could scarcely show a gun. All hopes of assistance were gone; and with the failure of an at-

tempt to escape, which was baffled by a storm, the last hope of the royal army expired. On the 19th, lord Cornwallis surrendered himself and his whole army prisoners to the combined armies of France and America. The principal articles of the capitulation were :—that the troops be prisoners of war to congress and the naval force of France: the officers to retain their side-arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed: the soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as are allowed to soldiers in the service of congress: a proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New York, or to any other American maritime post in the possession of the British. On these articles lord Cornwallis observes: "I sincerely lament that better could not be obtained; but I have neglected nothing to alleviate the misfortunes and distress of both officers and soldiers." He indeed endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restriction than an engagement not to serve against France and America: he tried also to obtain an indemnity for such of the inhabitants as had joined him: but these were refused. The only indulgence granted was, that the Bonetta sloop should pass unexamined to New York. By her it was consequently supposed that some of the most obnoxious loyalists made their escape.

In the siege of this place, the combined army had about 320 killed and wounded: the British, about 500. The number of men who were surrendered prisoners of war exceeded 7000; but the number of the sick was so great, that not much above half of these were able to bear arms. The quantity of stores was very considerable.

The joy which the news of this great victory diffused over the United States, could only be exceeded by the grief and mortification it occasioned in this country. All our victories combined, all that had been

gained by traversing an immense continent, and carrying misery and desolation into the very heart of our enemy's country, were no balance for the loss of two such armies as fell at Saratoga and Yorktown. With this defeat the war concluded in North-America, and the British remained in New York, Charleston, and Savannah, until the subsequent negociation for peace was concluded.

In this detail of the operations which led to a termination of the war, I have purposely omitted many petty skirmishes, and the actions of marauding parties. These are much the same in all wars; and, if there is any thing to be learned from them, it is the humiliating fact, that bravery and humanity do not always go together, and that the name of war gives a charm of impunity to actions, which are not to be defended by any acknowledged principle of true wisdom or justice.

LETTER LXXVIII.

In England, a general conviction began now to prevail, that the conquest of America was impossible, while the immense expense attending the war, the supposed prodigality of administration in the disposal of public money, and the vast supplies demanded every year without being properly accounted for, were complaints echoed from one part of the kingdom to another. Nevertheless, when the new parliament met, in October, the state of parties was found to be nearly the same as before. Sir Fletcher Norton, by his boldness in addressing the throne, on an occasion which was taken notice of in a former letter, had given offence to administration, and they proposed, and carried, that Mr. Cornwall should be elected speaker in his room. His majesty, in addressing the house, adverted, with an expression of satisfaction, to the progress of his arms in Virginia and Carolina, which it was conceived would have important consequences in bringing the war to a happy conclusion. The address of thanks was combated by the whole strength of opposi-

tion, but was carried in both houses by great majorities. The other business transacted before the recess, related to the bill for continuing the suspension of the habeas corpus act, with respect of persons accused of high-treason, either in America, or on the high seas. Ninety-one thousand men, including upward of twenty thousand mariners, were voted for the service of the year 1781; and of the army, thirty-nine thousand men. The thanks of the house were given to sir Henry Clinton and lord Cornwallis for their important services in America.

After the recess, the minister communicated to par-
1781. liament a message from the king, in which his majesty acquainted them, that, during the recess of parliament, he had been obliged to direct letters of marque and general reprisal to be issued against the states general of the United Provinces and their subjects. For the causes and motives of his conduct on that occasion, he referred to his public manifesto against that republic, which he had ordered to be laid before the house. In the course of the debates on this subject, it was asserted, and not disproved, that the copy of a treaty between the states general and America was merely the outline of a treaty which had neither been concluded nor signed. The ministry repelled this and other arguments with a more than common share of apparent justice on their side, and an address was carried, by a considerable majority, that the house would, with a firm and determined resolution, support the just and necessary war against Holland.

A few days after this, Mr. Edmund Burke, a gentleman of great talents and eloquence, who had devoted much of his time and attention to the subject of retrenchment and reform in sundry parts of the establishment, moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill, for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishment, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of certain useless, expensive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service. As this bill was now rejected, I shall only ob-

serve, that it was on this occasion the opposition were joined by Mr. William Pitt, second son to the celebrated earl of Chatham, who delivered a long and argumentative speech, with great force and eloquence, in support of Mr. Burke's propositions. Both parties seemed to agree that the virtues and abilities of the late earl were happily revived in his son.

When the house resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the minister stated, that the vast sum of twenty-one millions, would be required for the service of the year. Beside the powerful arguments urged in the house of commons against this excess of national expense, it drew forth a spirited protest from several peers, who reprobated the loan made by the minister, as improvident in its terms, corrupt in its operation, and partial in its distribution. Twenty-one millions, said they, are added to the capital of the debt for a loan of twelve; five and a half *per cent.* perpetual annuity is granted; six hundred and fifty thousand pounds are to be levied in the yearly taxes upon the people. In such a situation, the most rigid economy ought to have been used, and the premium on the loan ought to have been reduced in proportion to the exorbitance of the interest to be paid. These arguments had weight without doors; and the subsequent events of the war increased the odium which administration soon found to be irresistible. The remaining transactions of this session, as they bear no direct relation to the war, I shall omit, except as far as the affairs of the East-Indies are concerned, a brief statement of which it is now necessary to give.

In the mass of facts which compose the English history, there is nothing more extraordinary, than that a company of English merchants should, from being mere adventurers in a foreign trade, by degrees acquire such power and ascendancy, that, in the year 1765, we find them masters of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, three of the largest and richest provinces of the Mogul's empire, which were supposed to contain upward of ten millions of inhabitants. Such, however, was now the vast territorial acquisition of the English East-India company. As their servants who resided abroad were

under no control, or under a control that was weak and inefficient, that held out no terrors, and could be easily eluded; the inhabitants of these provinces were plundered and oppressed in every shape that avarice prompted. The few of the company's servants, who possessed greater integrity and humanity, endeavoured to counteract those evils by sundry wise regulations and arrangements; but the cry of the oppressed had reached England, and the strong hand of legislative authority was thought necessary, to take the management of territorial affairs from men who could so easily abuse it.

In 1773, an act was passed, by which the mayor's court of Calcutta, originally established by the authority of the East-India company, should be confined to small mercantile causes, and that a new court should be established, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges, to be appointed by the crown, with liberal salaries. A superiority was likewise to be given to the presidency of Bengal over the other presidencies. Accordingly, the following year, sir Elijah Impey, as chief justice, with three others, sailed for India. This court had a supreme power over every department of law; and its jurisdiction extended to all persons, whether Europeans or natives, who acted in the service of the company. A scheme, so apparently well contrived, failed of the expected effects, owing to their not making a new code of laws, adapted to the existing circumstances of the governments there, and introducing the English laws in their full letter and spirit in a country where they could not but militate against ancient customs, religion, and habits. Nor were the Europeans much better pleased with the new judicature than the natives. Frequent complaints were transmitted to the court of directors at home; who, in 1777, found it necessary to represent to one of his majesty's secretaries of state the improper manner in which they conceived the supreme judicature had acted, and the dangers arising therefrom to the interests of the company. About the end of the year 1780, a petition was presented to the house of commons, from a number of the British inhabitants, of

the company's provinces, complaining of the indiscriminate manner in which the judges of the supreme court attempted to exercise the English laws in that country, at the same time that these very judges took away the benefit of a trial by jury. They appealed to the humanity of the British parliament, and besought them to reflect on the innumerable hardships which must ensue, and the universal confusion which must be occasioned, as well to personal rights as to private and public property, by giving to the voluminous and intricate laws of England a boundless retrospective power in the midst of Asia; and by an application of those laws, made for the freest and most enlightened people on earth, the principle of whose constitution was formed on virtue and liberty, to transactions with the natives of India, who had from time immemorial lived upon a despotic government, established on fear and restraint. A petition was afterwards presented to the house of commons from Warren Hastings, esq. governor-general, and Philip Francis and Edward Wheeler, esqrs. counsellors for the government of the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, in which they represented, that though the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature at Calcutta, and the privileges and immunities granted to the governor-general and council, were clearly defined and limited by parliament and the king's letters patent, yet the chief justice and judges of that court had exercised authority over persons not legally within their jurisdiction, and had irregularly and improperly advised and admitted suits against the governor-general and council; that they had attempted to execute their writs upon persons of high rank in Bengal, natives of the country, and over whom the supreme court had no just pretence to exercise any jurisdiction whatever. It was added, that the attempt to extend to the inhabitants of those provinces the jurisdiction of the supreme court of judicature, and the authority of the English law, and of the forms and fictions of that law, which were yet more intolerable, because less capable of being understood, would be such a restraint on the minds of the people of those provinces as might inflame them,

notwithstanding the known mildness and patience which constitute their general character, to an open rebellion. And they solicited that they, the governor-general and council, and all others under their authority, might be indemnified against all the legal consequences of their resistance to that court.

In consequence of these petitions, and the general discontent occasioned both at home and abroad by the conduct of the supreme court of judicature, the house of commons ordered, that the petitions from the inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and from the governor-general and council of Bengal, should be referred to a select committee of fifteen members, to be chosen by ballot. The report of this committee was taken into consideration in the month of April; but, before I enter on the subject of that report, it is necessary to advert to the war which had broke out in India, and which, joined to discontents among the company's servants, greatly endangered their interests in that quarter.

The company's servants, as we have seen already, had engaged in a war with the Marattas, who likewise had Hyder Ally, regent of the kingdom of Mysore, for their enemy; but he had thought proper to make peace with them, and join them in a war with the English, on pretence that the latter had not kept their treaties with him. About the close of 1779, he had an immense military force, consisting of 70,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 10,000 Carnatic horse, 400 Europeans, and a fine artillery, worked by Europeans. In the month of July 1780, he entered the Carnatic with a large army, and committed great devastation; and, the French having promised him powerful assistance, he vowed he would ruin the English. On the 7th of September, lieutenant-colonel Baillie, with a detachment of 300 European infantry, some artillery, three battalions of sepoys, and ten pieces of cannon, was attacked by the son of Hyder Ally, whom he defeated. Hyder failed also in his attempt on Arcot, the chief town of the Carnatic; but owing to the impossibility of an intended junction between the troops of colonel Baillie and sir Hector Monro, the former was

attacked by Hyder, with a much superior force, and totally defeated, on the 10th of September. All the Europeans were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and about 2000 sepoys are said to have fallen. Sir Hector Monro retreated immediately to Madras; and Hyder, renewing his attempt on Arcot, made himself master of it, and found an immense quantity of stores. His cavalry was overrunning the whole country, when sir Eyre Coote arrived at Madras with a reinforcement of British troops, and, taking the command of the army, dislodged Hyder's troops from some places of which they had possessed themselves; while sir Edward Hughes, the British admiral, co-operated in distressing Hyder, by destroying several ships at Mangalore, his chief seaport on the coast of Malabar. On the first of July, 1781, sir Eyre Coote brought Hyder to a general action, between Porto Novo and Mooteapollam, which lasted eight hours, and ended in the defeat of Hyder's troops, who were far superior in number to the British. Hyder's principal general was mortally wounded, and among the killed, who amounted to 4000, were many of his officers. The British lost few officers, and not more than 400 privates.

Before this victory, a motion was made by the ministry, that a committee of secrecy should inquire into the causes of the war now subsisting in the Carnatic, and of the present condition of the British possessions in these parts. This was agreed to by the house, the opposition only contending, that the committee should be *select*, and not secret, which was refused. When the names of the committee were read, it was observed, that of the fifteen, only two were not friends of administration. On the 23d of May, the report of the former committee, appointed to consider the petition of the governor and council of Bengal, was read in the house, and leave given to bring in a bill to explain and amend that part of the act passed in the 13th year of his present majesty, which related to the administration of justice in Bengal; and also to indemnify the governor and council of Bengal, for having resisted, by force of arms, the execution of an order of the supreme court of judicature in that kingdom. By this

act, which received the royal assent after being discussed in both houses, it was declared that the governor-general and council of Bengal were not subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court, on account of any thing done by them in their public capacity; and they were indemnified in the resistance which they had made to the orders of that court. It was also enacted, that no person should be subject to the jurisdiction of the supreme court on account of his being a landlord, or farmer of land, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; that no judicial officers in the country courts should be liable to actions in the supreme court for their decisions; and two mufties, and Behader Beg, who were then in prison in consequence of the decision of that court in a particular cause, were ordered to be discharged.

From this sketch of the affairs of India, it is necessary to follow up the events of the war as carried on this year between the maritime powers, in various parts of Europe and America.

On the commencement of the year 1781, the French made another attempt to take the island of Jersey. The baron de Rullecourt, with eight hundred French troops, landed at the bank du Niolet in that island without meeting with the least resistance from the militia guard, and filled the market-place of St. Hillier, soon after dawn of day, without a gun having been fired. The lieutenant-governor was surprised in bed, and made prisoner, but not before he had found means to send notice to three regiments, stationed in different parts of the island. The French general urged him to sign articles of capitulation, and threatened, in case of refusal, to fire the town, adding, a most egregious falsehood, that he had landed about 5000 men on the island. The lieutenant-governor answered, that, being a prisoner, and without all authority, he could sign no capitulation that would be binding; but, in consequence of repeated threats, he was induced to sign some articles, and sent orders to the officers under his command to obey them. Captain Aylward, however, who commanded Elizabeth castle, refused to surrender, fired upon the French, and com-

pelled them to retire; while the British troops, commanded by major Pierson, with the militia, assembled upon the heights near the town, and threatened to attack the French if they did not lay down their arms, and submit as prisoners of war, within twenty minutes. At the expiration of this time, major Pierson led on his troops, and attacked the enemy with such vigour and impetuosity, that in less than half an hour they surrendered themselves. The French general, who had compelled the captive lieutenant-governor to stand by his side during the engagement, was mortally wounded, and the gallant major Pierson was killed in the very moment of victory. The lieutenant-governor was afterward tried by a court-martial, and superseded.

In the beginning of February, admiral Rodney and general Vaughan took possession of the defenceless island of St. Eustatius, belonging to the Dutch. The inhabitants were even ignorant that hostilities had commenced between the States General and Great Britain, until the governor was summoned to surrender the island and its dependencies. As his situation would admit of no parley, he complied, and recommended the town and its inhabitants to the mercy of the British commanders. But all the property found upon the island, both private and public, said to be worth nearly three millions, was declared to be confiscated, and the inhabitants were compelled to deliver up all their money and effects. Their warehouses were locked up, and access denied to the proprietors; and the merchants' books, letters, and papers, were also seized. About thirty Jews were first stripped of their money, to the amount of eight thousand pounds, and then carried to St. Christopher, without being informed of their destination, or permitted to take their families with them. Other Jews, who were stripped in like manner, were suffered to remain on the island. By proclamation, all Americans, without distinction, all French inhabitants, the Dutch inhabitants who had been citizens of Amsterdam, and all other foreigners, except the settled inhabitants of the island, were ordered to depart.

The pretence for this severity was, that the inhabitants of St. Eustatius had afforded assistance to the Americans, and to the enemies of Great Britain. This, however, seemed a shallow justification; and every man in the kingdom, who valued national honour, joined in execrating so wanton a breach of humanity, so unprovoked and useless an addition to the calamities of war. It was afterward the subject of parliamentary inquiry, and perhaps no subject was ever reprobated with greater force of argument, or defended in a manner more lame and impotent.

The Dutch, as I have already observed, were never worse prepared for war, than when his Britannic majesty ordered that hostilities should commence; but the first naval engagement that took place between their fleet and that of Britain, off the Dogger Bank, was highly in favour of their courage and spirit as seamen. The Dutch fleet on this occasion consisted of one 74, one 68, one 64, three 54, and one 44-gun ships, besides frigates, commanded by admiral Zoutman. The British fleet, under vice-admiral Hyde Parker, consisted of one 80, two 74, one of 64, one of 60, one of 50, one of 44, one of 40 guns, three frigates, and a cutter. The action began about eight in the morning, when the fleets were within half-musket shot, and continued for nearly four hours. Little advantage was gained on either side. The British had 104 killed, and 339 wounded: the loss of the Dutch was supposed to be greater; and their 74-gun ship sunk soon after the action. The Dutch bore away for the Texel, and the English were too much disabled to follow them. The English admiral complained, with justice, of being sent out without a sufficient fleet, for which he certainly had applied, and which at this time could have been spared.

In the West-Indies, to which we again return, a partial engagement took place between a British squadron of eighteen ships of the line, commanded by sir Samuel Hood, and a French squadron of twenty-four sail of the line, commanded by count de Grasse; but neither side gained or lost materially. Soon after, the

French made an unsuccessful attempt on the island of St. Lucia; but were more fortunate against Tobago, which surrendered to them on the second of June.

About the beginning of the year, commodore Johnstone was appointed to the command of a squadron destined to attack the Cape of Good Hope; but the French, by sending a well-timed assistance, prevented the success of this design: in their attack, however, upon the commodore's squadron at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago, they were beaten off; and the commodore afterward surprised five Dutch East-Indiamen in the bay of Saldanha, four of which he took, and the other was burnt. The original object of his expedition having failed, he returned home with his prizes.

The arms of Spain were so successful in America, that this year they reduced all our settlements on the Missisippi, and entirely conquered the province of West-Florida. Pensacola surrendered to the Spanish governor of Louisiana, who treated the garrison with great humanity.

The island of St. Eustatius was retaken on the 20th of November, by a small force of 400 French troops, commanded by the marquis de Bouille, who assured the inhabitants that he retook the island, not to add it to his master's possessions, but to defend it until their high mightinesses the States General should relieve it by a garrison of their own. About the same time the island of St. Martin fell into the hands of the French.

It is with pleasure that we can close the history of this year with one of the most gallant exploits of this or perhaps any other war. The fortress of Gibraltar continued to be besieged, and it was now judged expedient to carry into execution an attempt to storm and destroy the whole of the enemy's advanced works, which had been perfected at immense expense and labour. For this purpose a considerable detachment was formed, in three columns, and marched from the garrison, upon the setting of the moon, on the 27th of November, at three in the morning. The columns were severally composed of an advanced corps, a body of

pioneers, artillery-men carrying combustibles, and a sustaining corps, with a reserve in the rear. The pioneers of the left column were seamen. The vigorous efforts of these troops, on every part of the exterior front, were irresistible; and the enemy, after a scattering fire of short duration, gave way on all sides, and abandoned their stupendous works with great precipitation. The pioneers and artillery-men spread their fire with such amazing rapidity, that, in half an hour, two mortar-batteries of ten thirteen-inch mortars, and three batteries of six guns each, with all the lines of approach, communication, traverse, &c. were in flames, and soon reduced to ashes. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, carriages, and platforms destroyed. Their magazines blew up, one after another, as the fire approached them. The enemy, seeing all opposition to be ineffectual, offered no other resistance than an ill-directed fire of round and grape shot, from the forts of St. Barbara and St. Phillipe, and the batteries on the lines; and remained in their camps, spectators of the conflagration. The whole detachment, whose loss had been very inconsiderable, was in the garrison again by five, just before break of day. An enterprise so admirably contrived, and so successfully executed, could not fail to give the Spaniards an exalted idea of the wisdom of general Elliot, the governor, and of the courage of his troops; who to these virtues joined the tenderest regard to the duties of humanity, by their kind treatment of the prisoners, many of whom they rescued from destruction. The value of the works destroyed by this sally has been estimated at nearly three millions.

LETTER LXXIX.

WHEN the parliament of Great Britain met at the close of the year we have just reviewed, intelligence had been received of most of the leading events that had happened during the recess, and particularly of the defeat of the British army in Virginia, which was

gently alluded to in his majesty's speech, but which had shaken the power and popularity of the ministry to such a degree, that their downfall did not seem far distant, and the principal business of the present session was a war of words, which hastened it. Their weakness, indeed, began to appear so glaringly, that victories and defeats, towns taken and towns evacuated, gain and loss, seemed only parts of a monstrous aggregate, whose characteristic features were error, impolicy, and ignorance. The address in answer to his majesty's speech was combated by arguments, which carried conviction into every part of the British dominions; and such was the force of popular excitement, such the obvious necessity for putting an end to this unhappy war, that the minister, whose majority was nearly as two to one at the commencement of the session, had the mortification to be left in a minority within four months after.

It is not necessary to give a minute detail of all the various motions brought forward. A few of the most prominent will be sufficient. Mr. Burke moved for a strict inquiry into the conduct of the British commanders at St. Eustatius, and brought evidence of cruelty and confiscation, ready to be examined. The debate on this motion was long and warm, and admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, who were present, entered into an able defence of their conduct; but the ministry were determined that no further inquiry should be made, and Mr. Burke's motion was rejected by a great majority. Another important motion, though ably supported, fell to the ground. It went to state that the war carried on against the colonies and plantations of North-America had been ineffectual to the purposes for which it was undertaken, and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force would be ineffectual, and must be injurious to this country, by weakening her powers to resist her ancient and confederated enemies. Against this plain proposition, the minister opposed a new design, namely, to keep up a war of posts in America, for the annoyance of the enemy and the protection of the West-India islands. The division, however, on this question,

though in favour of administration, exhibited the inconsiderable majority of only forty-one.

After the recess, the opposition gained ground rapidly, and general Conway having moved for an address to his majesty, beseeching him to take into his consideration the calamities of the American war, and adopt the proper measures for putting a stop to it, the motion was rejected by only one vote: this encouraged the mover to offer it a second time, in the form of a resolution of the house. That happened to be backed by a petition from the city of London, and other places, and was carried by a majority of nineteen. It was followed up by an address to his majesty, presented by the whole house. His majesty, in his answer, declared there were no objects nearer to his heart than the ease, happiness, and prosperity of his people; and that the house of commons might be assured, that, in pursuance of their advice, he should take such measures as should appear to him to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both; and that his efforts should be directed, in the most effectual manner, against our European enemies, until such a peace could be obtained, as should consist with the interests and permanent welfare of his kingdom.

1782.

But this answer not appearing sufficiently explicit, general Conway moved, that the house of commons would consider as enemies to his majesty and this country, all those who should endeavour to frustrate his majesty's paternal care for the ease and happiness of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting, the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North-America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force. After some debate, this was carried without a division: but the purpose of these motions seemed yet, in some measure, to be defeated. Accordingly, other motions, more directly pointed, were advanced, when, at length, lord North announced to the house, that his majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers. His lordship concluded his speech

with thanking the house for the many instances of favour and indulgence which he had received from them during the course of his administration; and declared, that he considered himself as responsible, in all senses of the word, for every circumstance of his ministerial conduct, and that he should be ready to answer to his country, whenever he should be called upon for that purpose. In consequence of this change, a complete administration was formed from that party who had composed the opposition, and who were considered as holding whig principles.

The marquis of Rockingham was appointed first lord of the treasury; lord John Cavendish, chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, principal secretaries of state; lord Camden, president of the council; the duke of Richmond, master of the ordnance; the duke of Grafton, lord privy seal; admiral Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief; Mr. Thomas Townsend, secretary at war; Mr. Burke, paymaster of the forces; and colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy. Admiral Keppel, sir Fletcher Norton, and Mr. Dunning, were at the same time created peers.

Thus ended the administration of lord North: and the people were so fully sensible of the weight of public burdens, and of the incapacity of ministers to alleviate them, that the news of their removal was very generally received with satisfaction; and, from the abilities and character of the new administration, great hopes were entertained that they would yet be able to rescue the nation from her difficulties.

In Ireland, a spirit of resistance to the dependant state of that kingdom and parliament was this year crowned with success. After various meetings, held for the purpose of expressing the sense of the nation on certain important constitutional reformations, Mr. Grattan, a very popular member of the Irish house of commons, moved and carried an address to his majesty, declaratory of the independence of the Irish parliament. This was afterward acceded to by the English parliament, under the auspices of the new administration. The utmost joy and exultation spread over

Ireland on this occasion, and Mr. Grattan's services appeared so meritorious, that the parliament of that kingdom voted him the sum of fifty thousand pounds.

LETTER LXXX.

THE new administration began their career by executing some of those plans which they had so often recommended to their predecessors. The first and greatest object of their attention was, to adopt such measures as might lead to peace. Overtures were accordingly made to the States General of Holland, and negociations for a general peace commenced at Paris. His majesty made an offer to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America, in the first instance, instead of making it the condition of a general treaty. Admiral Digby and general Carleton were also directed to acquaint the American congress with the pacific intentions of the British court, and with his majesty's offer to acknowledge the independence of the United States. Besides this, a variety of resolutions were entered into concerning the affairs of the East-Indies, which foreboded an entire change in the administration of our territories in that quarter. A retrenchment took place, in consequence of a message from the king, in the expenditure of his civil list; and that system of public economy, which Mr. Burke had recommended, now began to be practised in earnest. An act was also passed for excluding custom-house and excise officers from voting at parliamentary elections; and contractors were excluded from being members of the house of commons. All the orders and resolutions of that house, respecting the Middlesex election and the conduct of Mr. Wilkes, were expunged from the journals, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors in the kingdom. As a part of the system of economy, the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe, the offices of third secretary of state, or secretary for the American department, of treasurer of the chamber, cofferer of the

household, the lords of police in Scotland, and some other offices, were abolished; and a provision made for liquidating the debts of the civil list, which at this time were very considerable. These acts met with little or no opposition, and the popularity of the new administration was advancing rapidly, when an accident created a difference of opinion among them, which ended in their overthrow. But before entering on this subject, it is necessary to advert to the naval and military transactions which closed the war, of which the West-Indies continued to be the chief theatre.

About the beginning of this year the island of St. Nevis surrendered to the arms of the king of France; and 8000 French troops were landed, about the same time, on the island of St. Christopher. Admiral Hood, with twenty-two sail of the line, attempted to relieve the island, and beat off, with considerable loss, the French fleet, commanded by count de Grasse, of twenty-nine sail of the line. The island, however, was obliged to capitulate, after a brave defence. Demerara and Issequibo, with several English vessels, were also taken by the French.

Soon after, admiral Rodney arrived in the West-Indies, and took the command there. His good fortune still followed him; for, on the 12th of April, he encountered and gained a complete victory over the French fleet, commanded by count de Grasse. His fleet consisted of thirty-seven ships, and that of the French of thirty-four. The engagement lasted from seven in the morning until half-past six in the evening. No action could be more decisive, or conducted with greater bravery. It was, in fact, in itself and its consequence, the greatest naval defeat hitherto given to any enemy. By a bold manœuvre of admiral Rodney's ship, the Formidable, the French line was broken and thrown into confusion. The first French ship that struck was the Cesar, of 74 guns, which at this instant had not a foot of canvas not pierced with a shot. Unfortunately, after striking, she blew up, by which accident 200 Frenchmen, an English lieutenant, and ten sailors, lost their lives. Le Glorieux and Le Hector, of 74 guns each, were also taken by the English, toge-

ther with L'Ardent, of 64 guns. A French 74-gun ship was sunk during the engagement. The Ville de Paris, a ship of 110 guns, on board of which was De Grasse, the French admiral, struck toward the close of the engagement. The havoc among the French seamen was immense. The English had 230 killed, and 759 wounded.

A few days after this engagement, a squadron of the British fleet, commanded by admiral Hood, took the Cato and Jason, two French men of war of 64 guns each, the Amiable of 32, and the Ceres of 18 guns. Admiral Barrington's fleet, about the same time, took from the French, off Ushant, Le Pegase of 74, L'Actionnaire of 64 guns, and ten sail of vessels under their convoy. Before these events, the new ministry had sent to recall admiral Rodney, and, as it was thought, meant to institute an inquiry into his conduct at St. Eustatius. But the splendour of his victories eclipsed all imputations, and he, and admiral Hood, received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and were advanced to the peerage. The count de Grasse, after his defeat, was conducted to Jamaica, and thence to England, where he was received at court, and treated with the respect due to his rank and situation. These victories, however, were counterbalanced by very considerable losses. The Ville de Paris, Glorieux, and Hector, were lost at sea. The Centaur, a British ship of 74 guns, sunk in the month of September, few of the crew being saved; and, in August, the Royal George, of 100 guns, overset and sunk in the harbour of Portsmouth. Admiral Kempenfelt, a very brave officer, with other officers, upward of 400 seamen, and 200 women, perished on this melancholy occasion.

The island of Minorca, after a siege of one hundred and seventy-one days, surrendered on the 6th of February to the king of Spain: the English garrison amounted to 2692 men; but the Spanish army, under the command of the duke de Crillon, exceeded 16,000. During the siege, the duke attempted to bribe general Murray, the governor, to deliver up the fortress, an insult which was resented in a very spirited manner; and the conduct of the duke, after surrender,

showed that, notwithstanding such an attempt, he entertained a very proper sense of the courage and inflexible virtue of the governor. In the month of May, the Bahama Islands, which were incapable of making any defence, surrendered to the governor of Havannah.

The defence of Gibraltar still continued to attract the eyes of Europe, as to a scene of uncommon bravery and success. The governor, according to his custom, allowed the Spaniards to bring their works nearly to perfection, and then almost totally demolished them. On the 8th of September, at seven in the morning, a heavy fire commenced from the English batteries, with carcasses, hot shot, and shells, upon the Spanish advanced works and batteries, and, before ten, two of their principal batteries were completely destroyed. The attack made by the Spaniards, on the 13th of this month, requires a more particular description. It was made with ten battering-ships, under the command of admiral Moreno. These ships were of different sizes, from 1400 to 600 tons burden. Their guns, which in all amounted to 212, were brass twenty-six pounders, all entirely new. The number of men on board of these ships, including officers, amounted to near 8000. The Spaniards had also collected, from different ports, about 300 large boats, which were to carry their troops. At ten in the morning, don Moreno's ship was placed about 1000 yards from the king's bastion, and began firing; the others, posted to the north and south, at small distances asunder, likewise discharged their cannon. The fire was heavy on both sides; the English opening their batteries as the enemy came before them. Red-hot shot was sent with such precision from the garrison, that in the afternoon the smoke was seen to issue from the upper part of the Spanish admiral's and from another ship, and men were seen labouring to extinguish the fire by engines. Their efforts, however, were ineffectual; for, by one in the morning, the Spanish admiral, and several others, were in flames. The confusion of the Spaniards was now sufficiently manifest, and the numerous rockets thrown up, from each of their ships, were a demonstration of the greatness of their distress. Their signals were immediately answered from the Spa-

nish fleet, and attempts were made to bring away the men, it being impossible to remove the ships. Twelve English gun-boats, each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen pounder, under the command of captain Roger Curtis, then advanced, and were so drawn up as to flank the line of the Spanish battering-ships, while they were also extremely annoyed by an excessive heavy and well-directed fire from the garrison. The fire from the English gun-boats was kept up with such vigour and effect, that the Spanish boats did not venture to approach: on the contrary, they abandoned their ships, and the men left in them, to the mercy of the English. The scene was now truly dreadful; great numbers of men were seen amid the flames, some upon pieces of wood in the water, others appearing in the ships where the fire had as yet made but little progress, all expressing, by speech and gesture, the deepest distress, and all imploring assistance. The English made every exertion to relieve them; but the blowing up of the Spanish ships, as the fire got to the magazines, and the firing of some of their cannon, as the metal became heated by the flames, rendered this a very perilous employment. In consequence, however, of their intrepid exertions, thirteen Spanish officers, and 344 men, were saved. Their loss must have been immense. After this memorable victory, lord Howe succeeded in relieving the garrison, and engaged with the French and Spanish fleet; but, after a severe cannonade, the latter bore away with all the sail they could.

In America, no action of any importance occurred after the capture of the British army at York town. In India, sir Eyre Coote gained another victory over Hyder Ally, in August; but the loss to the English was very considerable, the enemy having been very advantageously posted. In the following month he was again successful over Hyder, and with less loss. In November, after a short siege, Chittore surrendered to the English; and two days after, the Dutch settlement of Negapatam fell into the hands of the English; and sir Edward Hughes, about the commencement of the present year, took Trincomale, with two Dutch ships

richly laden, besides other vessels then in the harbour. A few days before this transaction, general Meadows arrived at Bombay, with a reinforcement of land-forces, under convoy of three sail of the line; and Tellicherry, which had for a considerable time been besieged by Hyder Ally's troops, was relieved by major Abingdon, who completely routed the besiegers, killed about 400 men, and took 1500 prisoners, among whom was their leader, with an immense quantity of artillery, stores, and money. But soon afterward colonel Brathwaite, with a detachment of the Company's troops, was attacked, near the banks of the Coleroon, by Hyder Ally's son, Tippoo Saib, and totally defeated. The whole detachment, consisting of 2000 infantry, 250 cavalry, 18 officers, and a field train of 13 pieces, were either captured or destroyed. The French afterwards laid siege to Cuddalore, which surrendered to them. About this time, a cessation of hostilities took place between the Company's troops and the Marattas. Two partial engagements, however, took place between the English fleet, commanded by admiral Hughes, and the French, commanded by M. de Suffrein, in which the former had the advantage. After this, peace was concluded with the Marattas, and was followed by the death of Hyder Ally, the most intrepid and inveterate enemy of the English.

LETTER LXXXI.

After what the nation had suffered from the errors of the administration which conducted the war, great expectations were formed of the advantages to be derived from the accession of men whose principles were truly patriotic, and whose talents commanded the admiration even of their enemies. The leading principles in the system which they proposed to pursue were, to offer to America unlimited, unconditional independence, as the basis of a negociation for peace; to establish a system of economy in every department of go-

vernment; and adopt the spirit, and carry into execution the provisions, of the bill of reform introduced by Mr. Burke; to annihilate every kind of influence over every branch of the legislature; and to continue to the kingdom of Ireland, and to secure to it, the freedom as now settled by parliament; and to do this in the most unequivocal and decisive way. But how far this system would have been carried into effect, cannot now be ascertained. The death of the marquis of Rockingham took place about this time, and was followed by the appointment of the earl of Shelburne to be first lord of the treasury. This gave so much offence to his colleagues, that Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and some others, immediately resigned their places, assigning as a reason, that a new system, or rather the revival of the old system, had been attempted, and that consequently they could not act with the present cabinet. These reasons did not appear very satisfactory to all their friends, and their vacancies in the new administration were soon filled up. Mr. William Pitt was appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and a firm and concerted opposition was planned.

The new administration went on with the treaties of peace, which were submitted to parliament on its meeting in the beginning of the following year; but the opposition having, in two instances, outvoted the ministry, the latter were compelled to yield, and a new administration was formed by a coalition of parties the most discordant that can well be imagined. The duke of Portland was appointed to be first lord of the treasury; lord North and Mr. Fox were appointed principal secretaries of state; lord John Cavendish was made chancellor of the exchequer; lord Keppel, first lord of the admiralty; lord Stormont, president of the council; and the earl of Carlisle, keeper of the privy seal. Without entering into a detail of the proceedings of this administration in lesser matters, it is necessary to state, that the negociations for peace were at length concluded, and are in substance as follow.

1783.

In the treaty between Great Britain and France, it was agreed, that peace should take place to the fullest extent, and that measures the most efficacious should

immediately be executed for putting an end to hostilities of every kind. Newfoundland was to remain with England as before the commencement of the war; and, to prevent disputes about boundaries, it was accorded, that the French fishery should begin from cape St. John on the eastern side, and, going round by the north, should have for its boundary cape Ray on the western side. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded in full right to France. The French were to continue to fish in the gulf of St. Lawrence, conformably to the fifth article of the treaty of Paris. The king of Great Britain agreed to restore to France the island of St. Lucia, and to cede and guarantee to her that of Tobago. The king of France was to surrender to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. The river of Senegal and its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podor, Galam, Arguin, and Portendic, were to be given to France; and the island of Goree was to be restored to it. Fort James and the river Gambia were guaranteed to his Britannic majesty; and the gum trade was to remain in the same condition as before the commencement of hostilities. The king of Great Britain was to restore to his most christian majesty all the establishments which belonged to him at the breaking out of the war on the coast of Orissa and Bengal, with a liberty to surround Chandernagore with a ditch for draining the waters; and became engaged to secure to the subjects of France in that part of India, and on the coasts of Orissa, Malabar, and Coromandel, a safe, free, and independent trade, either as private traders, or under the direction of a company. Pondicherry, as well as Karical, was to be rendered back to France; and his Britannic majesty was to give, as a dependency round Pondicherry, the two districts of Valanour and Bahour; and as a dependency round Karical, the four contiguous Magans. The French were again to enter into the possession of Mahe, and of the comptoir at Surat. The allies of France and Great Britain were to be invited to accede to the present pacification; and the term of four months was to be allowed them for

the purposes of making their decision. In the event of their aversion from peace, no assistance on either side was to be given them.

Great Britain renounced every claim with respect to Dunkirk. Commissioners were to be appointed respectively by the two nations, to inquire into the state of their commerce, and to concert new arrangements of trade, on the footing of reciprocity and mutual convenience. All conquests on either side, in any part of the world whatever, not mentioned nor alluded to in the present treaty, were to be restored without difficulty, and without requiring compensation. The king of Great Britain was to order the evacuation of St. Pierre and Miquelon three months after the ratification of the preliminary treaty, and, if possible, he should before the expiration of that period relinquish all connection with St. Lucia in the West-Indies, and Goree in Africa. It was stipulated, in like manner, that his Britannic majesty should, at the end of three months after the ratification of the treaty, or sooner, enter into the possession of the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat. France was to be put into possession of the towns and comptoirs which were to be restored to her in the East-Indies, and of the territories which were to serve as dependencies round Pondicherry and round Karical, six months after the ratification of the definitive treaty; and at the termination of the same period she was to restore the towns and districts which her arms might have taken from the English, or their allies, in that quarter of the globe. The prisoners upon each side were reciprocally to be surrendered, and without ransom, upon the ratification of the treaty; and on paying the debts they might have contracted during their captivity. Each crown was respectively to reimburse the sums which had been advanced for the maintenance of their prisoners by the country where they had been detained, according to attested and authentic vouchers. With a view to prevent every dispute and complaint on account of prizes which might be made at sea after the signing of the preliminary articles, it was mutually settled that the

vessels and effects which might be taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the ratification of the present preliminary articles, were to be restored upon each side; that the term should be one month from the Channel and North Seas, as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, whether in the Ocean or the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Islands, as far as the equinoctial line or equator; and lastly, five months, without exception, in all other parts of the world.

Between Great Britain and Spain, it was agreed that a sincere friendship should be re-established. His catholic majesty was to keep the island of Minorca, and was to retain West-Florida. East-Florida was to be ceded to him by the king of Great Britain. Eighteen months from the date of the ratification of the definitive treaty were to be allowed to the subjects of the latter, who had settled in the island of Minorca and in the two Floridas, to sell their estates, to recover their debts, and to transport their persons and effects, without being restrained on account of their religion, or on any other pretence whatsoever, except that of debts, and prosecution for crimes. His Britannic majesty was, at the same time, to have the power to cause all the effects that might belong to him in East-Florida, whether artillery or others, to be carried away. The liberty of cutting logwood, in a district of which the boundaries were to be ascertained, without molestation or disturbance of any kind, was permitted to Great Britain. The king of Spain was to restore the islands of Providence, and the Bahamas, without exception, in the condition in which they were when they were conquered by his arms. All other conquests of territories and countries upon either side, not included in the present articles, were to be mutually restored without difficulty or compensation. The epoch for the restitutions to be made, and for the evacuations to take place, and regulations for the release of prisoners, &c. were settled in the same manner as in the articles with France.

In the treaty with America, his Britannic majesty acknowledged the United States, viz. New Hamp-

shire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, to be *free, sovereign*, and *independent states.* He consented to treat with them in this capacity; and for himself, his heirs, and his successors, he relinquished all claims to the government of them, to their property and territorial rights. That no disputes might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of these United States, it was declared that they should be from the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the source of St. Croix river to the highlands, along the said highlands, which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude; thence by a line due west on that latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cateraquy; thence along the middle of the said river into lake Ontario, through the middle of that lake, until it strikes the communication between the said lake and lake Eric; thence along the middle of that communication into lake Eric, through the middle of the said lake, until it arrives at the water-communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of the said water-communication to the lake Huron; thence through the middle of the said lake to the water-communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through Superior northward of the isles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of the said Long Lake, and the water-communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and thence on a due west course to the river Missisippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river Missisippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude: south, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in

the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola, or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic ocean: east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy, to its source; and from its source directly north to the said highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the said boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

The people of the United States were to continue to enjoy, without molestation, the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; and were likewise to exercise and continue the same privilege in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at every other place in the sea, where the inhabitants used heretofore to fish. They were likewise to have the liberty to take fish of every kind on such parts of the coast of Newfoundland as British seamen shall resort to; but not to cure or dry them on that island. They were also to possess the privilege of fishing on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all the other dominions of his Britannic majesty in America; and the American fishermen were permitted to cure and dry fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador. But it was agreed that, after such places should be settled, this right could not be legally put in practice without the consent of the inhabitants and proprietors of the ground. It was accorded that creditors upon either side should meet with no impediment in the prosecution of their claims. It was contracted

that the congress should earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states to provide for the restitution of all estates and properties which had been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and of the estates and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States. Persons of any other description should have free liberty to go to any part whatsoever of any of the thirteen United States, and remain in it for twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to recover such of their estates, rights and properties, as may not have been confiscated; and it was concerted that the congress should earnestly recommend to the several states a revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render them perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail. It was understood that no future confiscations should be made, nor prosecutions commenced against any person, or body of men, on account of the part which he or they had taken in the present war; and that those who may be in confinement on such a charge, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, should be immediately set at liberty. It was concluded that there should be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the United States; that all hostilities by sea and land should immediately cease; and that prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty. His Britannic majesty engaged, expeditiously, and without committing destruction on any fort, to withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from every port, place, and harbour of the United States. The navigation of the river Missisippi, from its source to the ocean, was to remain for ever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain, and the citizens of the United States. If any place or territory belonging to Great Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either, before the arrival of these articles in America, it should be restored without compensation or difficulty.

The articles of peace between the French and British were concluded at Versailles, between *Jan.* 10. Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, minister plenipotentiary on the part of his British majesty, and Charles Gravier, count de Vergennes, the minister plenipotentiary on the part of the king of France. At the same time, the preliminary articles between Great Britain and Spain were also concluded by Mr. Fitzherbert, and the compte d'Aranda, the minister plenipotentiary for the Spanish monarch. The provincial articles between Great Britain and America were framed and adjusted in the month of November preceding at Paris, by Richard Oswald, esq. the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, and Messrs. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin (the celebrated philosopher), John Jay, and Henry Lawrence, as commissioners of the United States of America.

When these articles were laid before parliament, they underwent a severe scrutiny; and the ministry having, as I observed before, been defeated in two motions, that change took place, which introduced a ministry composed of men whose principles were long known to be discordant. The treaties of peace, however were definitively concluded soon after the prorogation of parliament; and at the same time *Sept.* 2. the preliminary articles of peace with the Dutch were subscribed at Paris, by the duke of Manchester, as plenipotentiary for Great Britain, and their excellencies L'Estevenon de Berkenrode, and Gerard Brantsen, ambassadors extraordinary for the States General.

It was stipulated in these articles, that a sincere and constant friendship should be established between his Britannic majesty and the States General; that hostilities should cease upon each side; and that there should be a general oblivion of all things committed since the commencement of the war. With regard to the honour and salute by sea given by the vessels of the republic to those of Great Britain, it was ordained that they should continue respectively according to the method in practice before the commencement of hostilities. All the prisoners and hostages on each

side were to be restored without ransom; each power defraying the expense incurred for their subsistence. Security for payment of debts contracted by prisoners was reciprocally to be given; and all vessels, whether of war or of commerce, taken after the period of the cessation of hostilities, were to be restored, with their crews and cargoes. The States General yielded and guaranteed to his Britannic majesty the town of Negapatam, with its dependencies: but the king of Great Britain, considering the high importance and value which the States General attached to the possession of that town, agreed to treat with them for its restitution in the event of being presented with an equivalent. The king of Great Britain became engaged to restore to the United Provinces, Trincomale, with all the other forts, towns, harbours, and establishments, which had been conquered and taken, in any part of the world, during the course of the war. The States General bound themselves not to molest the navigation of the subjects of Great Britain in the eastern seas. Certain differences between the English African company and the Dutch East-India company were to be determined by commissioners on each side, and a time was fixed for the restitutions and evacuations agreed to in these articles.

LETTER LXXXII.

NOTWITHSTANDING the acknowledged ability of all, and the integrity of a considerable part, of the new administration, usually known by the name of the coalition administration, the voice of the people never cordially approved a step which brought together men of such opposite principles as Mr. Fox and lord North. Very able defences were set up in speeches and pamphlets; but the measure was so radically wrong, so adverse to plain sense and upright dealing, that the new ministers lost all public confidence, and were consequently watched with a jealousy, perhaps, exceeding the usual bounds of reasonable caution. Nor was it

long before they amply confirmed the worst suspicions of the public, and armed their enemies in full hostility against them.

The situation of the East-India Company had been recommended in his majesty's speech to parliament, as an object of the first importance; and it was said that the utmost exertions of their wisdom would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces. Accordingly, on the 18th of November, Mr. Fox introduced a bill, which proposed to take from the directors and proprietors the entire administration, not only of their territorial but of their commercial affairs, and to vest the management of them in the hands of seven commissioners named in the bill, and not removeable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either house of parliament. The seven commissioners were, earl Fitzwilliam, president of the board; the right hon. Frederic Montague, the right hon. lord Lewisham, the hon. George Augustus North, sir Gilbert Elliott, sir Henry Fletcher, baronets; and Robert Gregory, esq. These commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the first instance by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors. And these commissioners and directors were empowered to enter immediately into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels, goods, merchandise, and securities, in trust for the Company. The act to continue in force for four years; and it was accompanied by a second bill of regulation for the future government of the British territories in Hindoostan.

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the public on the disclosure of this gigantic plan; and the general opinion entertained was, that India wanted a constitutional and not a tyrannical reform. By the bill before the house, an attack was made on the most solemn charters: it pointed a fatal blow against the faith and integrity of parliament; it broke through every tie by which man was bound to man. What security had the

Bank of England, the national creditors, or the public corporations, or even the Great Charter itself, the foundation of all our liberties? The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property and a disfranchisement of the members of the East-India Company; all the several articles of whose effects were transferred by violence to strangers. The power was pretended, indeed, to be given in trust for the benefit of the proprietors; but, in case of the grossest abuse of trust, the power of appeal was not to the proprietors, but to the majority of either house of parliament, which any minister might secure, with the patronage of above two millions sterling given by this bill. Such influence was in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority the patronage and treasure of India. The right honourable mover had acknowledged himself to be a man of ambition, and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people, at the shrine of ambition. He desired to elevate his present connections to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and put an end to their ascendancy.

Such were the arguments advanced against this bill by Mr. William Pitt, whose popularity increased with the ability he displayed on this occasion, and they were the more generally and cordially adopted by the nation, as a strong prejudice prevailed in the minds of all men of principle against the coalition. The India Company, the city of London, and other public bodies, petitioned, or entered into resolutions, against the tyrannical invasion meditated against chartered rights. In the house of commons, meanwhile, the bill was carried through by a majority of two to one: but in the house of lords it was opposed by the duke of Richmond, earl Temple, lord Thurlow, earl Camden, and others, and finally rejected by a majority of 95 to 76.

This rejection is to be traced to a proceeding which was as strongly reprobated by one party, as defended by the other. On the 11th of December, earl Temple

demanded a conference with the king, and laid open to his majesty the full tendency of this bill; in consequence of which, it is said that, a card was handed about, intimating, that his majesty allowed earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger, or more to the purpose. Against this proceeding, a resolution was carried in the house of commons, purporting, that it was necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of the king upon any bill, or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor.

This, however, did not serve the cause: the fears of the public were awakened, and the right of a peer to give advice to his majesty could not be questioned, although it might be allowed there was some irregularity in this instance. A change of ministry was now unavoidable, and, on the 18th of December, a message from his majesty was sent to the two secretaries of state, and next day to the other members of the cabinet, demanding the seals of office; and, in a few days, an administration was formed of such members of the two houses as were unconnected with the coalition. Mr. Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Caermarthen, and Mr. Thomas Townsend, created lord-Sydney, secretaries of state; lord Thurlow, lord-chancellor; earl Gower, president of the council; the duke of Rutland, lord privy seal; lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty; and the duke of Richmond, master of the ordnance. Earl Temple was made lord-lieutenant of the kingdom of Ireland. These appointments were hailed by the nation with universal joy, and the approbation bestowed, it will soon appear, was not unsubstantial or temporary.

The majority of the house of commons, however, still adhered to the dismissed ministers, and gave a remarkable proof of it by voting, that an address be presented to the king, stating, that alarming reports had

gone forth of an intended dissolution of parliament, and humbly representing to his majesty the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or dissolution in the present conjuncture; and entreating the sovereign to hearken to the advice of *that house*, and not to the secret advice of particular persons, who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the king and the people. To this singular address, his majesty answered, that it had been his constant object to employ the authority entrusted to him by the constitution for its true and only end—the good of the people; and he was always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of his faithful commons. He trusted they would proceed in the important matters mentioned in their address with all convenient speed, assuring them that he should not interrupt their meeting after their adjournment, by any exercise of his prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution.

After the recess, several motions were made by the opposition, but their majorities gradually dwin-
1784 dled until they were reduced to eight only, while addresses of thanks and congratulation to his majesty, on the dismissal of his late ministers, flowed in from all parts of the kingdom. A negociation was now set on foot for an efficient ministry, in which some of the least obnoxious of the late ministry might have a share; but this could not be concluded in the present temper of parties; and, after various attempts on the part of the late ministers to regain the confidence of the house, and on the part of the ministers to carry on public business, which neither could effect in a decisive manner, his majesty was advised to take the only step in his power to procure for the country an efficient administration, by an appeal to the people in their character of electors; and accordingly the parliament was dissolved by proclamation, on the 24th of March, and a new one convened to meet on the 18th of May.

This measure was effectual: the adherents to the coalition, some men of great influence, and unquestionable probity, were rejected by their constituents, and a decided majority for the new ministers was returned.

LETTER LXXXIII.

ALTHOUGH times of peace have hitherto afforded but barren materials for history, yet the measures necessary to remedy the consequences of a war so unfortunate as the last, were of that general importance to the nation, and involved so many weighty alterations in the system of finance and government, as to draw forth the utmost resources of that wisdom which now guided the helm. The greater part of administration were young. Mr. Pitt had scarcely attained his twenty-fourth year when he assumed the important offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. His coadjutors, if not as young, had as little experience, and perhaps not all the advantages of education which the son of Chatham enjoyed: and the whole had to contend against a party very considerable in point of numbers, and particularly formidable for vigour and splendour of talents.

In the opening speech, his majesty again requested the attention of parliament to the affairs of India, and Mr. Pitt introduced a bill for that purpose. By it a board of control was to be established, composed of a certain number of commissioners, of the rank of privy counsellors, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removeable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and control, the civil and military government and revenue of the Company. The despatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the superior board, and countersigned by them; and the directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenues; and, in case such orders do at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to points not connected therewith, they are empowered to appeal to his majesty in council, whose decision is declared final. The appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor, in the different presidencies, shall be

subject to the approbation and recall of his majesty. A high tribunal was created for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were authorised to judge without appeal, to award, in case of conviction, the punishments of fine and imprisonment, and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East-India Company. This bill was warmly contested by the adherents of the late administration; but, appearing to be divested of the exceptionable parts of Mr. Fox's bill, it was acceded to by the Company, and was finally passed in the month of August.

During this session, Mr. Pitt opened a plan for the prevention of smuggling; and, after enlarging on the alarming increase of smuggling in the article of tea, he proposed to lower the duty to so small an amount, as to make the profit of the illicit trade not adequate to the risk: but, as the lowering of the duty must inevitably create a deficiency in the revenue, this deficiency he proposed to supply by an additional tax on windows. This has usually been known by the name of the commutation-tax, and was at first strongly opposed, and generally unpopular. The supplies of the year demanded a loan of six millions, which was negociated by Mr. Pitt, at about five per cent., with a douceur to the subscribers of six lottery-tickets on every thousand pounds. The unfunded debt amounted, at this period, to thirteen millions, only one half of which was to be funded at present; and was invested in a five per cent., fund, and some new taxes were raised, none of which merit particular notice. The last measure of the session was particularly gratifying to the liberal feelings of the age. It was a law, introduced by Mr. Dundas, president of the board of control, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland, in consequence of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. It did not, however, free the estates from the claims existing against them at the time of the forfeiture, which might be regarded as a premium for rebellion; and therefore appropriated such sums, amounting to about 80,000*l.*, to public purposes.

The country remaining tranquil, parliament did not assemble until the 24th of January. The principal object recommended in the royal speech was the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as had not been finally arranged. In Ireland, political disturbances had arisen to a considerable height, and the volunteers, with other friends to their country, had formed a kind of national congress, in which, as well as in parliament, various constitutional questions were agitated, but without producing any decisive changes. 1785.

On the 18th of April, Mr. Pitt introduced a measure, which went to a reformation of the state of the representation in the house of commons: his plan was, to preserve the actual number of that house inviolate: but to select a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of representation attached to thirty-six of which should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of parliament might prescribe; and, that all unnecessary harshness might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of one million to be applied to purchase the franchise of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to parliament. This done, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing of the franchise of other boroughs, beside the original thirty-six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning parliament to be indulged with this privilege: copyholders were to be admitted to an equality with freeholders; and in populous towns, where the electors were few, the franchise was to be extended to the inhabitants in general. By this means one hundred would be elected by the popular interest, and one hundred thousand persons be created electors. This plan, however, though ably supported by some of both parties, was rejected by a majority of 248 to 174.

But the regulations proposed with respect to Ireland were the principal source of debate and discussion during the present session. These regulations, or propositions, were first proposed in the Irish house of

commons by Mr. Orde, and ratified by that assembly, and are in substance as follow: That it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible, and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries. That all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other, reciprocally, at the same duties to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their product; and that all duties originally paid on the importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other. That no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation of any article of the other; and that the duty on importation should be precisely the same in both countries, except where an addition may be necessary in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption. That where the duties on articles of the product of either country are different on the importation into the other, they should be reduced, where they are highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home-manufacture of the same kingdom. That in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty; the same articles, when imported from the other, may be charged with a duty adequate to countervail the internal duty. That no prohibition, or new duty, shall hereafter be imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article the product of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to countervail the duties on internal consumption. That no prohibitions, or new duties, shall be hereafter imposed on the exportation of any article of native growth, except such as either kingdom may think expedient from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except

where there now exists any prohibition, not reciprocal, or duty not equal: in every such case, the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised so as to make them equal. That no bounties whatsoever should be payable in either kingdom on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted in Ireland on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain; or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback or compensation for duties paid internally, over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain. That the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated in each kingdom, so as to afford an effectual preference to similar articles of the growth and produce of the other. That it is essential to the commercial interests of Ireland, to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; and that therefore it is highly expedient that the annual revenue of this kingdom shall be made equal to its annual expense. That whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, shall produce above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenue shall equal the annual expense, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated toward the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct.

For some time this scheme excited very little attention, and probably was not sufficiently understood. An opposition to it in parliament, however, soon created a general alarm and dissatisfaction among the public, and petitions were presented against it from considerable bodies of merchants and manufacturers. Various alterations were adopted in the propositions before they finally passed through both houses, and the houses were adjourned to a distant day. In the interim they were laid before the Irish parliament, in

their amended state; but there, after much debate, were carried by so small a majority, that it was thought prudent to let the matter drop.

1786. Next year a proposition of a more successful kind was brought forward by Mr. Pitt, in consequence of a recommendation in the speech from the throne. This was no less than a plan for the gradual diminution of the national debt; and as it was adopted, though after the usual share of opposition, to which all the minister's financial plans were doomed, and, notwithstanding its seeming imperfections, is still in existence and in progression, it will be necessary to give some detail of it. The plan was founded upon a report framed by a select committee, appointed early in the session, for the purpose of examining the annual amount of the income and expenditure. By the report of this committee it appeared, that the annual income for the year 1785, had been fifteen millions three hundred and seventy-nine thousand one hundred and eighty-two pounds; and the annual expenditure, fourteen millions four hundred and seventy-eight thousand one hundred and eighty-one pounds, leaving a surplus of nine hundred and one thousand and one pounds: and that, in the year 1786, the income had been fifteen millions three hundred and ninety-seven thousand four hundred and seventy-one pounds, and the expenditure the same as in the preceding year, leaving a surplus of nine hundred and nineteen thousand two hundred and ninety pounds.

Upon the basis of this surplus, Mr. Pitt rested the whole fabric of his system. He proposed to appropriate one million annually as a sinking fund, to be applied to no other purpose whatever, in any circumstances of the state, but to the gradual extinction of the national debt. This sum was to be vested in the hands of certain trustees, namely, the chancellor of the exchequer, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the Bank, and the accountant-general, to be by them applied quarterly to the purchase of stock, at the current price of the market. To complete the annual sum of one million, he added a few small taxes. According to his calculation, this

annual million, properly improved, would, in the course of twenty-eight years, produce an annual income of four millions; and the operation of the plan, he said, would diminish the national debt so effectually, as to prevent the exigencies of war ever raising it so enormously as they had previously done. In the course of the progress of the bill, Mr. Fox suggested a clause, which the chancellor of the exchequer readily adopted, to this effect, that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and douceur annexed to which should be applied to the purpose of the sinking fund.

The year was likewise distinguished by the commencement of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, esq. late governor-general of Bengal. The principal burden of this undertaking, vast as it proved to be, lay with Mr. Burke, who had long applied his attention to the subject of India management, and upon Mr. Hastings' arrival in England the preceding year, gave notice of his intention to enquire into his conduct. Accordingly, on the 4th of April, he rose to charge Mr. Hastings with high crimes and misdemeanors in the execution of his office, exhibiting at the same time nine articles of accusation, which were afterward extended to twenty-two. It would be impossible, in a history upon the scale we have adopted, to enter into a detail of all the proceedings previous to this memorable trial. We shall, therefore, briefly give the outline of the charges, as originally advanced.

The first related to the war that had been carried on against the Rohillas; the second, to the provinces of Cora and Allahabad, which had been conferred on the Mogul, by lord Clive, and the revenues of which had been detained, when that prince withdrew to his capital of Delhi, and put himself under the protection of the Marattas. The third treated of the extraordinary aid which had been demanded, on account of the war, from the rajah of Benares; the fine which had been imposed upon him for refractory conduct, and his consequent expulsion from his dominions. The fourth related to

the confinement of the princesses of Oude, the imprisoning and fettering of their servants, with a view to extort money; the distresses which were experienced by their families, and their compulsory resignation of their jaghires or appanages. The fifth regarded the treatment of the rajah of Farruckabad; the sixth, of the rajah of Sahlone. The seventh, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth, treated of certain extravagant contracts into which Mr. Hastings had entered on the part of the Company; and the enormous salaries which he had bestowed upon sir Eyre Coote, and upon certain boards of his own institution. The eighth treated of money privately received, and of illegal presents. The ninth regarded the authority which Mr. Hastings had given to certain persons in England, to resign the government in his name; and the refusal he had given in India, to submit to the consequent appointment of his successor. The thirteenth respected certain ambassadors to the nabob of Arcot, and the suba of the Decan. The fourteenth related to the desertion of the rana of Gohud, in the conclusion of the Maratta peace; the fifteenth, to the uneconomical and arbitrary management of the revenues of Bengal. The sixteenth charged upon Mr. Hastings the declension and ruin of the province of Oude. The seventeenth regarded a certain native, called Mahomet Beza Khan, who had for a long time been entrusted with the internal management of Bengal, and was displaced by Mr. Hastings. The eighteenth accused Mr. Hastings of having, at a recent period, delivered up the Mogul into the hands of the Marattas. The nineteenth charged him with libelling the court of directors. The twentieth related to the guilt of occasioning the Maratta war, and the ill faith that had attended the conclusion of the Maratta peace. The twenty-first regarded the suppression of correspondence; and the twenty-second related to the treatment of Fizula Khan.

These charges were regularly discussed in the house of commons, and the majority having determined in favour of an impeachment, Westminster-hall was fitted up for the occasion. The managers of the impeachment were, Edmund Burke, esq.; right hon. Charles

James Fox; Richard Brinsley Sheridan esq.; sir James Erskine; right hon. Thomas Pelham; right hon. William Windham; hon. Andrew St. John; John Anstruther, esq.; William Adam, esq.; M. A. Taylor, esq.; sir Gilbert Elliott; Dudley Long, esq.; lord Maitland; hon. G. A. North; general Burgoyne, Charles Grey, esq.; colonel Fitzpatrick; Mr. Wilbraham; Mr. Courtenay; and Mr. F. Montague. The trial commenced on the 15th of February, 1788, and was continued by adjournments for several years. Although out of the order of time, it may be necessary to mention here, that it finally closed on the 14th of April, 1795; when each of the lords then present having severally given their solemn decision, and Mr. Hastings being called in, the lord-chancellor addressed him in these words: "Mr. Hastings, you are acquitted of all the charges of impeachment brought against you by the commons, and the matter contained therein; you and your bail are therefore discharged, upon paying your fees." This trial, apparently of seven years' standing, had, in fact occupied only one hundred and forty-nine days, and was carried on, on the part of the managers, with ardour and assiduity, but, after the two first sessions, became a matter of indifference to the public, who heard the decision as a thing they were prepared for; while, in the opinion of the judicious, there was an imperfection in the mode of trial, occasioning its extreme length, which militated against the principles of justice.

LETTER LXXXIV.

DURING the summer of this year, an incident happened which occasioned some alarm. On the 2d of August, as the king was alighting from his carriage at the garden-gate of St. James's palace, a woman, who was waiting there, struck at his majesty with a knife, but without injuring the royal person. The woman, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, was immediately apprehended, and on examination proved to be a lunatic. The affair, however, evinced his majesty's po-

pularity, as addresses were sent from all quarters congratulating him on his escape.

A beneficial treaty of commerce with France was concluded at the same time by Mr. Eden (afterward lord Auckland), a gentleman of acknowledged commercial talents, who had seceded from the coalition party, by whose influence he had enjoyed the appointment of secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland. By this treaty, the hardware and cabinet manufactures of England gained free admission into France, on paying the easy duty of ten per cent. *ad valorem*, which was afterward, with respect to many articles, reduced to five per cent.: the cotton manufactures, woollen, hosiery, millinery, porcelane, and earthenware of Great Britain, were admitted at the reduced duty of twelve per cent. *ad valorem;* sadlery, at fifteen per cent., and the linens and cambrics were reciprocally admitted into both countries at equal duties. In return, the duties on French wines imported into Great Britain were to be lowered to the standard of Portugal; the duties on brandies were reduced two shillings per gallon, and olive-oil was admitted on the same terms as from the most favoured nations. Some plausible objections were offered to this treaty by the opposition, when its merits

1787. came to be discussed in the next session of parliament, which commenced January 23; but the sense of the house, and the opinion of all impartial judges, were for it. Various regulations in the collection of duties were introduced about this time, which gave general satisfaction.

One of the first topics of general concern agitated this session, respected the protestant dissenters. Mr. Beaufoy, a young member of considerable talents, made a motion for amending, and in part repealing, the laws known by the appellation of the Corporation and Test Acts. This was opposed by Mr. Pitt, on whom the dissenters had considerable dependance, they having supported his rise and the early measures of his administration, and by lord North, who had uniformly resisted any alteration in those laws. The motion was supported by Mr. Fox, but lost by a majority of 178 to 100.

The measures adopted in the embarrassed state of the prince of Wales's affairs occasioned at this time considerable agitation among the public, to whom the personal conduct of the heir apparent of the crown can never be a matter of indifference. It appeared that, in 1786, the prince had contracted debts to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of more than half that sum which had been expended upon his town-residence, Carleton-house. His royal highness's income being only fifty thousand per annum, this debt excited no great astonishment with those who knew how to make allowances for the expenses incident to his age and spirit. Having, however, on application for relief to his royal father, been refused, his highness determined to appropriate forty thousand pounds of his revenue to the payment of his creditors, and live on the remainder in a private character, disposing of all his horses, equipage, and laying down all the forms of state. This was not a situation in which it was agreeable to see a prince of Wales, and his highness was persuaded to permit an application to be made to parliament. This, after some demur, was met half-way by the minister, and the house voted the sum of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds for the relief of the prince of Wales, and twenty thousand pounds on account of the works of Carleton-house.

The parliament assembled again on the 27th of November. The king informed the houses, that at the close of the last session he had expressed the concern with which he heard the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the United Provinces. Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The king of Prussia having demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the princess of Orange, his sister, the party which had usurped the government applied to the king of France for assistance; and that prince having notified to his majesty his intention of granting their request, the king did not hesitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet spectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces by sea and land: and, in the course of this transaction, he had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave

of Hesse Cassel. In the mean time the rapid success of the duke of Brunswic enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured; and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Versailles. This information respects certain disturbances which had broke out in Holland, where a party of rather a formidable kind had been endeavouring to abridge the privileges of the stadtholder. The king of Prussia remonstrated with the states; but finding that pacific measures would not answer, he sent an army under the command of the duke of Brunswic, who soon restored tranquillity. At first it was thought that this affair would have involved England and France in a war; the Dutch patriots, as they were called, being inclined toward the French, and encouraged by them. France was not, however, at this time in a condition to break off any exterior relations, and the explanation alluded to by his majesty soon took place. The conduct of the English minister on this occasion had the sanction not only of his own party, but of some of the most distinguished members on the side of opposition. In a short time, treaties of friendship and alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and Hague, by which the two former guaranteed the stadtholderate in perpetuity to the serene house of Orange, as an essential part of the constitution of the United Provinces. By the treaty between Great Britain and Prussia, each of the contracting parties engaged, in case of attack, to furnish the other with sixteen thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry, or an equivalent in money, within the term of two months from the date of the requisition.

In the course of this year, the ministry lost some of that popularity which at the commencement of their career they had obtained with all persons concerned in the affairs of the East-India Company, by introducing what was called a Declaratory Bill, which settled all disputes between the board of directors and the board of control, by throwing the weight of power into the scale of the latter. This appeared to be so much

in the arbitrary spirit of Mr. Fox's bill, as to occasion a very formidable opposition both within doors and without. It was carried into a law, however, although not by the usual majorities.

The last business of importance introduced this session, was a bill brought into the house of commons by sir William Dolben, to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West-Indies. A great multitude of petitions had for some time been presented to the house, praying for the abolition of the slave-trade; and this bill, which was passed, though with some difficulty, gave many gentlemen of the first character and consequence, among whom was Mr. Pitt, an opportunity to express their abhorrence of the slave-trade, and their wishes that so great a national disgrace might be soon effaced.

The summer passed on in tranquillity, and, on the 4th of November, men of all parties united in celebrating the centenary anniversary of the glorious revolution in 1688. Uncommon festivity prevailed on this occasion; but the attention of the nation was almost immediately diverted to an affair of the most melancholy nature, and which for a considerable time absorbed every other consideration. This was a disorder of the mental kind, with which it pleased God to afflict his majesty, and which rendered him utterly incapable of exercising the high functions of sovereignty. No case exactly parallel to this had ever occurred in our history, and the proceedings of parliament were therefore unusually solemn and affecting. Parliament assembled on the 20th of November, when the state of his majesty's health was communicated to both houses. An adjournment of fourteen days was then proposed, and when they again met, a report of the privy council, who had examined his majesty's physicians, was laid before them. But as doubts were started in the house of commons on the propriety of receiving this report, a committee was appointed of twenty-one members, by each house of parliament, to prepare a further report. Mr. Pitt moved for another committee to inspect the journals for precedents of such proceedings as had been adopt- 1788.

ed in former instances, when the sovereign authority was suspended by sickness, infirmity, or any other cause. This motion was immediately opposed by Mr. Fox, who contended, that whenever the sovereign, from sickness, or any other cause, was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise.

This principle was strenuously and instantaneously denied by Mr. Pitt, who declared that it was little short of treason against the constitution; and pledged himself to prove that the heir apparent, in the instances in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature, to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. When the regular exercise of the powers of government was from any cause suspended, to whom could the right of providing a remedy for the existing defect devolve, but to the people, from whom all the powers of government devolved? To assert an inherent right in the prince of Wales to assume the government, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly been consigned to contempt and oblivion. Kings and princes derived their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision. These arguments prevailed, and Mr. Fox not choosing to take the sense of the house, Mr. Pitt's motion was carried without a division, as was a similar motion made in the house of peers by lord Camden. Here likewise the measures of ministry were in some degree assisted by a declaration made by his royal highness the duke of York, who, in the name of the prince, expressed his wishes that the question might be waved. No claim of right, his highness declared, had been advanced by the prince of

Wales; and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswic upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, be his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people, expressed by their representatives.

The dispute between the two parties, however, did not end here, but was continued with unusual ardour. Mr. Pitt moved two resolutions, one respecting the interruption of the royal authority, and the other, that it was the duty of the two houses of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. This resolution was carried by 268 against 204 voices; and a third resolution passed empowering the chancellor of Great Britain to affix the great seal to such bill of limitation as might be necessary to restrict the power of the future regent. An amendment, purporting that the prince of Wales be requested to take upon himself the administration of the government during the royal incapacity, was negatived by 251 to 178 voices. The triumph of the ministry would not perhaps have been complete, if other circumstances had not occurred from the zeal of their opponents. It was, in particular, proposed, that the royal physicians should be again examined on the subject of the king's illness, and the delay occasioned by this was highly in favour of the ministry.

In the mean time a letter was sent to the prince of Wales by Mr. Pitt, informing his highness that it was the opinion of his majesty's confidential servants, that his royal highness should be empowered to exercise the royal authority, during the illness, and in the name of his father; providing, nevertheless, that the care of the king's person, with the disposition of his household, should be committed to the queen; and that the power to be exercised by the prince should not extend to the personal property of his father; to the granting of any office, reversion, or pension, except where the law absolutely required it, as in the case of the judges, for any other term than during the king's pleasure; nor to the conferring of any peerage, unless upon

such persons of the royal issue as should have attained the age of twenty-one years.

The prince's answer was in effect, that it was with deep regret that he perceived in the propositions of administration, a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, into every branch of political business; for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting the authority to command service from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity. He observed, that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any one of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be conducted. In fine, the prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity which of all the king's subjects he deplored the most.

These were undoubtedly the sentiments of the party in opposition, the leaders of which at this time enjoyed the confidence of the prince and of his royal brothers: but, both in parliament and throughout the nation, the plan of the ministry had the approbation of the majority. The Regency Bill, agreeable to the outlines laid down in Mr. Pitt's letter to the prince, was introduced into the house on the 16th of January, and occasioned long and violent debates. In the house of peers a protest was entered on the journals, signed by the dukes of York and Cumberland, and fifty-five other peers, expressive of their aversion to the plan of the regency. Toward the close of February, considerable progress had been made in this bill, when, to the great joy of the kingdom, all

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proceedings were suspended by his majesty's recovery. On the 25th of February, his majesty was declared by his physicians free from his complaint, and, on the 27th, the reports of his health, which had been daily published, were discontinued by the royal command. On the 10th of March, the lord-chancellor, commissioned by the king, addressed the two houses of parliament in a speech, announcing his majesty's recovery, and commission to resume the functions of legislation in the usual manner. Beside the voluntary and instant demonstrations of joy shown by the people on this occasion, the 23d of April was appointed as a day of national thanksgiving, when the whole royal family, accompanied by both houses of parliament, went in procession to divine service at St. Paul's cathedral. On the succeeding evening, the metropolis, and indeed all the cities, towns, and villages, in the kingdom, were illuminated in a manner far surpassing in splendour all former shows of that kind. Never was joy more unfeigned or so generally expressed.

But while the British parliament were divided as to the nature of the regency to be appointed, the Irish parliament, in which the ministry were weak, proceeded upon a different plan, and determined that an address should be presented to the prince of Wales, requesting him to take upon himself the government of that kingdom, as regent, during the king's incapacity. The lord-lieutenant, the earl Temple, refused to transmit this address to England, and therefore commissioners were appointed by parliament to present it; but, before their arrival in England, this measure happily became unnecessary.

In the course of this session, Mr. Wilberforce made a motion, which he had before announced, relating to the abolition of the slave-trade: but very small progress was made in the affair before the prorogation. The only other business of a public nature was a bill brought in by Mr. Pitt to lay the tobacco trade under the excise. This measure, once so dangerous to sir Robert Walpole, was finally carried, though after long debates, by 20 voices, in a house composed of

only 90 members. The session was terminated by a speech from the lord-chancellor, in the name of the sovereign; in which it was observed, that, although the good offices of the king and his allies had not been effectual for the restoration of the tranquillity of Europe, he had the satisfaction of seeing that the further extension of hostilities had been prevented, and that the situation of affairs continued to promise to this country the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace. The northern part of Europe was at this time distracted by a war of ambition between Russia, Sweden, Denmark, and Turkey. Extensive as the destruction created by this war was, it attracted little attention when compared with the events which took place in France in the summer of this year, and which were attended with the most important consequences to the whole civilized world. Some account of these must now be given, although it will be impossible, in the compass of a work of this nature, to do complete justice to an occurrence of such magnitude.

LETTER LXXXV.

VARIOUS causes have been assigned for the French revolution. Of these some were latent and some more obvious and intelligible, although still not deemed adequate to such vast effects. Of the former description, was a spirit of insubordination, and certain ideas of liberty disseminated among the people in a crude form, by writers who had long combined their talents to produce a change in the constitution of government, and who were decidedly hostile to the civil and religious establishments of the country. Among the more obvious causes may be reckoned the distressed state of the finances, the necessity for heavy impositions on the people, and the discontent that naturally follows such measures. The American war occasioned expenses which were found to be much greater than the revenues of the kingdom could support; and the miserable exigencies to which government was reduced,

tended to accelerate that revolution for which the minds of the people had been in some degree prepared. At this time taxes were multiplied, the people were poor, and the promoters of the revolution seduced their affections by pointing their attention to the court as the source of every evil of which they complained.

The reigning monarch, Lewis XVI., one of the mildest and most humane sovereigns in the history of France, by the advice of his ministers, had called an assembly of notables, or the chief men of the kingdom: but this expedient being frustrated by a variety of obstacles, it was determined early in this year to call together the states general, an assembly which had not met since the year 1614. The number of deputies to this assembly exceeded eleven hundred, and the representatives of the third estate, or commons, equalled in number those of the nobility and clergy united.

This assembly met on the 5th of May, and the session was opened by the king, in a speech expressive of paternal regard for the welfare of the nation. Nearly six weeks, however, were wasted in disputes between the different orders; and on the 17th of June the *Tiers Etat*, or commons, declared itself the legislative body, by the name of the National Assembly. On the 19th, the clergy acquiesced in this decision; but, on the 23d, the king in person declared the proceedings of the 17th null and void. On his retiring, the majority of the assembly resented this proceeding, and finally prevailed in establishing their power as an assembly met to reform and change the state at their discretion. In consequence of this assumption, they laid down the principles of what they deemed a free constitution; they annihilated all feudal privileges, abolished all distinctions of orders, resumed the tithes and other ecclesiastical property, pronounced the dissolution of all monastic institutions, and made a new division of the kingdom into portions called Departments, eighty-three in number. The general principles of these and other changes were contained in a set of propositions called a Declaration of Rights.

In the mean time, the court, which had at first shown some spirit, and had called together a great body of troops to overawe the assembly and people, became irresolute, and, indeed, soon discovered that the soldiery were not to be depended upon. The people of Paris took advantage of this weakness, and, on the 14th of July, a mob, composed of citizens and soldiers, invested the fortress called the Bastille, and within a few hours obtained possession of it. The governor, who had made considerable resistance, was immediately put to death, and his head carried in triumph through the streets.

The authority of the king may from this event be considered as totally lost; and, in the month of October, an immense multitude of Parisians went to Versailles, and compelled his majesty and family to proceed to Paris, where their residence was then fixed, and where the king was in fact a state-prisoner.

In England these events were not heard of with indifference, although no general sentiment prevailed on the subject, and at first no great degree of regret was expressed at the humiliation of a court which had so recently contributed to sever America from the mother-country, and whose intrigues had so often involved this nation in expensive wars. Those societies and clubs, however, which more particularly claim the title of friends to liberty, celebrated the destruction of the French government with greater enthusiasm, and their conduct upon this occasion precipitated the declaration of other opinions, which soon engaged the whole kingdom in a political contest, and occasioned the introduction of the names *aristocrat* and *democrat*, which, being ill understood, and ill applied, soon produced all the mischiefs of party spirit and acrimony.

The parliament met on the 21st of January. In the opening speech his majesty indirectly adverted to the affairs of France, by saying that the internal situation of the different powers of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his majesty's most serious attention. Some members of parliament, however, contrived to introduce

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the subject more plainly, and the sentiments of the majority may be considered as fairly expressed by Mr. Burke, who inveighed against the French as the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had pulled down to the ground their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. He represented the danger we were in of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy, of a people whose government was anarchy, and whose religion was atheism. What they valued themselves upon was, in his opinion, a disgrace to them;—they had gloried, and some people in England had thought fit to take share in that glory, in making a revolution.

These sentiments, however just, appeared so contrary to the general tenor of Mr. Burke's former principles as to occasion no small degree of astonishment, and were certainly contrary to the sentiments held by those with whom he had for many years acted. In particular, they called forth an answer from Mr. Fox, who vindicated the French revolution, while he lamented the excesses that had been committed. Mr. Sheridan followed upon the same side, and this dispute laid the foundation for a disunion among the opposition, or whig party, which was attended afterward by very extensive and important consequences.

The first business of a public nature, was another attempt to procure a repeal of the laws affecting the dissenters. The success of the former motion was such as appeared to justify the hopes of the applicants. Mr. Fox opened the business in a long speech in favour of the repeal; but the sentiments of the majority were now so much changed upon this subject, and the conduct of the dissenters viewed with so jealous an eye, that the motion was negatived by a majority of 294 to 105.

Soon after this decision, Mr. Flood, many years a celebrated orator in the Irish house of commons, who had obtained a seat in the British parliament, introduced a plan of parliamentary reform, by which

one hundred members were to be added to the legislative body, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident householders only. But any plan that so immediately affected the civil establishment appearing at this time to be particularly dangerous, Mr. Flood was induced to withdraw his motion.

On the 5th of May, a matter of more importance was introduced into the house by a royal message, announcing that the nation was menaced by war, from the conduct of certain persons acting under the court of Spain. It appeared that, from the year 1788, some of our countrymen had procured from the Indians of North-America a spot of ground, and had made an establishment, defended by a small fortification, at a place called Nootka Sound, situate about the fiftieth degree of latitude. While here, two American vessels had wintered in the harbour, and, on the 6th of May, 1788, a Spanish ship of war, of 26 guns, and afterward another Spanish vessel of 16 guns, arrived in the same harbour. Civilities were at first exchanged between these ships and the settlers; but, on the 14th of May, the Spanish commander seized one of the English vessels, and conveyed the officers and men on board the Spanish ships, where they were put in irons, and otherwise ill treated. At the same time he took possession of the whole settlement, removed the British flag, and declared that all the lands comprised between Cape Horn and the sixtieth degree of north latitude were the actual property of his catholic majesty.

In consequence of this affair having been communicated to parliament, addresses were presented to his majesty, and a vote of credit of one million passed without opposition. Preparations for war were immediately begun both by sea and land; but the Spanish court was at length induced to renounce its claims, and make restitution, upon which further preparations were discontinued. On the 10th of June, the session of parliament ended, and on the day following the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

During the summer, the disputes on principles of

government, to which the French revolution had given rise, were still more agitated by a publication from the pen of Mr. Burke, condemning the whole conduct and progress of the actors in that revolution, and the English societies which had countenanced the French reformers by resolutions and addresses. Soon after, though not in the same year, this work drew forth a great many replies, and one in particular from Thomas Paine, whose writings in America, during the war there, were supposed to have contributed very considerably to exasperate the Americans against Great Britain, and had consequently procured the author a name. His answer to Mr. Burke's work was entitled the Rights of Man, and contained a severe invective against monarchical governments, conveyed in a popular and seductive style. This in its turn occasioned many replies, and for a considerable time the minds of the people were divided between the two parties, who seemed to monopolize the British press.

In the mean time the French national assembly proceeded in completing what they termed a constitution, according to which the king was acknowledged as the sole depositary of the executive power, as the supreme head of the general administration of the kingdom, and his sanction was declared necessary to acts of the legislature. He was also declared chief of the army and navy, and had in other respects the prerogatives usually annexed to royalty, and a civil list revenue was appointed of one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum. On the 14th of July, the anniversary of the revolution was celebrated in Paris with great pomp. The king, the national assembly, and the armed citizens, assembled together, took an oath to maintain the constitution: and it has with justice been observed, that a more solemn act of perjury never was committed in the face of heaven. In England, likewise, this revolution was commemorated by some societies, who impatiently augured the happiest effects to mankind in general, from the day-star of liberty having thus risen on benighted France.

The new parliament assembled on the 25th of November. In the opening speech, his majesty expressed

his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable conclusion, and observed, that a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte; that a separate peace had taken place between Russia and Sweden, but that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued; and that the principles upon which his majesty had hitherto acted would always make him desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity.

The first object of the minister was to provide for the expense of the armament against Spain. This, which amounted to four millions, he proposed to effect, without any permanent increase of debt, by some temporary taxes, which would discharge the incumbrance in four years, with the assistance of five hundred thousand pounds to be taken from the unclaimed dividends lying in the Bank, and which were estimated at six hundred and sixty thousand pounds. This last scheme occasioned some alarm among chartered bodies, and excited the opposition of the Bank directors; and, after much contest, the minister accepted, in lieu thereof, a loan of five hundred thousand pounds from the Bank, without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier. The directors of the Bank, however, were compelled to publish a list of the unclaimed dividends, with the claimants' names, and many individuals had the happiness to receive very considerable sums, of which they were totally ignorant.

Very warm debates took place in parliament soon after on a motion being made by Mr. Burke, to continue the impeachment of Mr. Hastings. It was contended by all the lawyers in the house of commons, that in consequence of a dissolution the impeachment had abated; but the sense of the house was decidedly against this opinion, and the impeachment was ordered to proceed. We have in a former letter anticipated its conclusion.

Soon after the recess, a bill passed for the relief of
1791. English catholics from the legal penalties still existing and in force against them. This act,

however, was confined to such of the catholics as should subscribe a certain declaration or protest against the assumed authority of the pope. In the month of April, Mr. Wilberforce made a motion for the abolition of the slave-trade, but it was negatived by a majority of seventy-five voices. A bill, however, was passed for chartering a company, for the purpose of cultivating West-Indian and other tropical products of Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa, by the use of free negroes.

LETTER LXXXVI.

THE two remaining transactions of this session were on many accounts interesting, though apparently of a very different nature. In consequence of an intimation conveyed in his majesty's speech, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal certain parts of the act respecting the government of Canada, passed in the 24th year of his majesty's reign, and to enact further provisions for the better government thereof. That country, it had been complained, had long continued under a government highly arbitrary and inconsistent. By Mr. Pitt's bill, the province was divided into two distinct governments, by the appellations of Upper and Lower Canada. Councils nominated by the sovereign, and houses of assembly chosen by the people, were established in each. The habeas corpus act was asserted as a fundamental law of their constitution, and the British parliament was restrained from imposing any taxes whatever, but such as might be necessary for the regulation of trade and commerce: and to guard against the abuse of this power, the produce of such taxes was to be at the disposal of the respective provincial legislatures. This plan met with the approbation of parliament; but Mr. Fox offered some objections to it, respecting the power reserved for his majesty of annexing to certain honorary and titular distinctions an hereditary right of sitting in council. In making his objections, Mr. Fox observed, that as to hereditary honours, or hereditary powers,

to say they were good or not, as a general proposition, was difficult; but he saw nothing so good in them as to warrant their introduction into a country where they were not known. He did not think it wise to destroy them where they existed; but to create them where they did not exist, he considered as exceedingly unwise. He added, that he could not account for it, unless it was that, Canada having been formerly a French colony, there might be an opportunity of reviving those titles of honour, the extinction of which some gentlemen so much deplored, and to revive in the West that spirit of chivalry which had fallen into so much disgrace in a neighbouring country.

These expressions, on a future day when the bill came to be re-committed, excited the indignation of Mr. Burke, who reprobated the conduct of the French in the most violent terms, and was called to order. Mr. Fox rose to defend his principles, and glanced at the apparent change of sentiments in his old friend. This again called up Mr. Burke, who contended that he had been perfectly in order; and that the discussion of the Quebec bill was a proper opportunity to put the country on its guard against those dangerous doctrines which prevailed in France, and which had found so many advocates here. He observed that he had differed on many occasions from Mr. Fox, but there had been no loss of friendship between them. But there was something in the accursed French revolution that envenomed every thing. Mr. Fox said there was no loss of friendship certainly: on which Mr. Burke declared with great violence, that *there was;* he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end. Mr. Fox, bursting into tears at this harsh reply, said, that however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not so easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped that Mr. Burke would think on past times; and, whatever expressions of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe such was not his intention.

Mr. Burke, however, remained inflexible, and from that day was for ever separated from the party with which he had been accustomed to act; and it was not long after that the most distinguished members of the whig party threw their weight into the scale of ministry, considering the situation of the times, and the dangers which menaced our constitutional establishments, as a just ground for waving the distinctions of party, and joining the common standard.

The other important transaction related to the state of the war between Russia and the Porte. The courts of London and Berlin, to the latter of which it was highly injurious to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence, signified to the empress of Russia their pleasure that peace should be restored between the Ottoman and Russian empires, on the terms of a general restitution of conquests. The empress, although she publicly refused her assent to this intervention, secretly intimated her willingness to conclude a peace with Turkey, on condition of retaining the country eastward of the Neister, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. This tract of country afforded protection to her former acquisitions, and included in its limits the strong fortress of Oczakow: but this offer being refused, she broke off the conference.

On the 28th of March, Mr. Pitt delivered a message to the house of commons from his majesty, importing, that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force. This intention to enforce the representations of the British court by arms, excited warm and long continued debates in both houses; and so strong was the opposition to the measure, that the minister did not think it proper to persist in it. In consequence of this, Oczakow and its district were given up to Russia, and a peace concluded in the ensuing summer between the Russians and Turks.

In France the state of affairs wore a very critical aspect. Popular jealousies and discontents were fomented by a variety of clubs, which aimed too successfully to overawe the deliberations of the national assembly. It was frequently complained that the king was insincere in his protestations of respect for the changes every day brought about by that assembly; yet the charge of insincerity might be made with equal justice against those who gave the king a mutilated power, inconsistent with its own motions, while neither his person nor his opinions were at liberty. At length, tired with the repeated insults offered to his family, he determined on a step which proved fatal to himself, and perhaps, in some degree, to the country. This was an attempt to escape from Paris. On the night of the 20th of June, the king, queen, dauphin, and princess Elisabeth, sister to the king, with some attendants, escaped through a subterranean passage extending from the Thuilleries to the Seine, and took the road toward Montmedi. They reached Varennes, a small town about 130 miles from Paris, where the carriage was stopped by Drouet, the postmaster of St. Menehould, who gave the alarm, and the royal party were taken prisoners and brought back to Paris.

The assembly behaved on this occasion with more moderation than could have been expected; what was past seemed to be forgiven, and the new constitution was presented to the king on the 3d. of September, who on the 13th signified his acceptance of it in writing, and the following day he appeared in the assembly, introduced by a deputation of sixty members, and solemnly consecrated the assent which he had already given, and concluded with an oath to be faithful to the nation and to the law, and to employ the powers vested in him, for the maintenance of the constitution, and the due execution of the law. On the 30th of this month, this assembly terminated an uninterrupted session of two years and four months, and dissolved itself, and with it ended the little that existed of talents, justice, or moderation in the councils of France. Clubs and intrigues uninterruptedly distracted the country;

and prepared scenes of horror and cruelty unparalleled in the history of that country.

In England, the French revolution was not now the theme of approbation as it had in some degree been. It was, indeed, commemorated in the metropolis, as in the preceding year, by a society, and the day past in tranquillity; but at Birmingham, where a similar society had assembled on the 14th of July, a mob arose, and set on fire, and destroyed several houses belonging to the dissenters, and two meeting-houses. The whole of the library and philosophical apparatus of Dr. Joseph Priestley fell a sacrifice to this mob, who were with difficulty restrained from acts of yet greater violence; and it was not until a considerable body of troops had been collected that they were quelled.

The parliament was convened on the 31st of January, when his majesty announced the marriage of his son the duke of York with the princess Frederica, daughter of the king of Prussia. He also informed the parliament that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the emperor of Germany and the Ottoman Porte, and preliminaries agreed upon between the Porte and Russia. His majesty added, that the state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments. 1792.

The Russian armament was the subject of much discussion, which, however, ended favourably for the ministry. Mr. Wilberforce, in the month of April, again introduced a motion for the abolition of the slave-trade, which was most decidedly supported by the minister. Mr. Dundas, now promoted to the office of secretary of state, by the resignation of the duke of Leeds, proposed an amendment to the motion, by inserting the word *gradual* before abolition, and this was carried by a majority of 68 voices. He then moved that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the 1st of January 1800; but, this, on the motion of lord Mornington, was changed to January 1, 1796. A series of resolutions were then agreed to, and sent up to the house of lords, where

the business terminated; but, after being often revived, at last met with success.

A law proposed, but not carried, in the last session, was finally passed now, though with considerable opposition. Mr. Fox moved for a bill to ascertain the rights of juries in cases of libel, and it set forth that juries in cases of libel should have a power of judging of the whole matter, and of finding a general verdict of guilty or not guilty. This was lost in the house of lords the preceding year, but carried now, notwithstanding the opposition of the law lords, Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst, who entered a protest against it, expressing that the rule laid down in the bill, contrary to the determination of the judges, and the unvaried practice of ages, subverted a fundamental and important principle of English jurisprudence, which, leaving to the jury the trial of the fact, reserves to the court the decision of the law.

It has already been remarked, that in consequence of the many political publications which the French revolution had provoked, a spirit of discontent, with avowed sentiments of an alarming tendency, had very generally gone forth. With a view, as asserted, to end these discontents in a constitutional manner, a society was formed in the spring of this year, called the society of the friends of the people, assembled for the purpose of effecting a reform in the commons house of parliament. One of its members, also a member of parliament, gave notice, that in the course of the next session he should move for an inquiry into the state of the representation. The minister declared his total disapprobation of introducing, at a period so critical and dangerous as the present, a discussion of such difficulty and importance. This was not a time for experiments; and if he was called upon either to risk this, or for ever to abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative. He saw with concern that some gentlemen virtually united with others who professed the reform of abuses, and meant the subversion of government.

Publications, it is certain, of a dangerous tendency, and which contained the most wild and extravagant

theories of government, were now so multiplied, that it was thought expedient to issue a proclamation against the public dispersion of all seditious writings and illegal correspondence; and the magistrates were exhorted to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. The two houses of parliament presented loyal addresses to his majesty on this occasion, which were followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom, and some check appeared to be given to the dissemination of the obnoxious pamphlets. A prosecution was instituted against Thomas Paine, whom we have mentioned before, as the author of one of them, and he was found guilty; but no punishment could follow, as he had previously made his escape into France, where he became a legislator, and a decided enemy to Great Britain.

Before returning to the affairs of France, it will be necessary to give some detail of a war which had broke out in India, and was successfully terminated in this year by the British arms. Tippoo Saib, who had concluded peace with the East-India Company in 1784, became afterward very formidable, and was avowedly attached to the interests of the French, by whose suggestion, it was supposed, he was to give some disturbance to the English settlements. The revolution in France had, however, interrupted any design of that kind, and afforded the Company an opportunity to chastise his insolence. The occasion was this: Tippoo thought proper to resent the conduct of the Dutch in selling two of their forts to the rajah of Travancore, one of the English allies. This conduct on the part of the Dutch was disapproved by the government of Madras, and in consequence Tippoo withdrew the troops he had collected, but still asserted his feudal sovereignty of the forts, which were named Cranganore and Acottah. On the 1st of May 1790, however, the rajah made an attack on Tippoo's army, and the war being thus commenced, the English company were bound to assist their ally. A general war immediately took place, conducted on the part of the English by lord Cornwallis, with great bravery and success. Before the 7th of February 1792, Tippoo's situation became hopeless, as the allies had invested Seringapa-

tam, his capital, and he thought proper to sue for peace, which was granted by lord Cornwallis on the following terms: 1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers. 2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. 3. The release of all prisoners; and 4. The delivery of his two sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty. On the 19th of March, the definitive treaty was signed by the sultan, and delivered by the young princes with great solemnity into the hands of lord Cornwallis, and the terms were afterward complied with.

LETTER LXXXVII.

THE situation of affairs in France now wore a menacing aspect to all Europe. The new assembly were continually promoting jealousies between the king and people, and accusing the former of combining with foreign courts for the overthrow of the constitution. Two decrees were presented to the king, one respecting the princes who had fled for safety into foreign states, and the other against such of the clergy as refused to take the oaths to the new government. To both of these the king thought proper to oppose his negative, a power granted by the constitution, but evidently a trap to ensnare monarchy, and degrade it into the new system that was preparing by the republican party, who now acquired the name of Jacobins. These procured addresses from the people, indicating their dissatisfaction with the court, and the dangers which menaced the country from the hostile appearance of the courts of Vienna and Berlin; and, on the 20th of April, war was declared against the king of Hungary, the title of emperor being at present vacant by the death of Leopold II. On the 6th of June, a decree passed the assembly, for forming a camp of twenty thousand men in the vicinity of Paris, to which the king refused his sanction.

In July, the combined armies of Austria and Prussia

entered France under the command of the duke of Brunswic, who issued a proclamation denouncing the most dreadful vengeance against the French nation, threatening to punish as rebels such of them as should be found in arms against the troops of the allied powers, and that the city of Paris should be delivered up to the horrors of military execution, unless the king, queen, and royal family, were immediately set at liberty. In consequence of this proclamation, the popular party in Paris made a full display of their designs, by demanding the *decheance* of the king; and on the 10th of August the assembly were about to deliberate on the proposition, when they were prevented by the fury of the populace. On that morning the palace of the Thuilleries was attacked by them; and the king, queen, and royal family, were forced to take refuge in the national assembly. At first the Swiss guards, who were obnoxious to the people, repelled them; but these being reinforced by hordes of banditti from Marseilles and Brest, brought thither by the jacobins, and by some of the national guards, the gates of the palace were burst open, and a bloody conflict took place, in which the Swiss guards were completely defeated, with great slaughter.

In the assembly a decree passed, declaring the executive power suspended, and summoning a national convention to meet on the 20th of September. The king and queen were committed close prisoners in the Temple. The rage of the populace was, however, not yet satisfied. An immense mob arose on the 2d of September, and proceeding to the Carmes, where a number of the nonjuring priests were detained till an opportunity should occur of putting in force the sentence of banishment issued against them, these remorseless assassins sacrificed every one of these defenceless, and probably innocent, men. From this place they proceeded to the Abbay prison, in which were confined the Swiss officers, and those arrested for treasonable offences against the nation on the 10th of August. The murderers here impannelled a jury, nine of whom it is said were Italians or assassins from Avignon, and the other three French. Before these self-constituted

judges, the wretched prisoners underwent a summary examination: the watchword that pronounced the culprit guilty was, "He must be set at liberty;" when the victim was precipitated from the door, to pass through a defile of miscreants differently armed, and he was cut to pieces with sabres, or pierced through with pikes. These dreadful massacres lasted the whole of the 2d and 3d of September. At the Abbay prison 159 were massacred; at the seminary of St. Firmin, 92; at the Carmes, 141; at the Hotel de la Force, 168; at the Chatelet, 214; at the Conciergerie, 85; at the Bicetre, 153; at the cloister of the Bernardine, 73. Massacres took place also in some parts of the country, and in all without any interruption from the ruling powers. When application was made to an officer, called the minister of justice, to interpose his authority in order to put a stop to these enormities, this miscreant replied, "When the people have done their part, I will perform mine."

On the 20th of September the national convention met at Paris, and declared the abolition of royalty, and the establishment of a republic upon the principles of liberty and equality. On November 19, they passed a decree in these terms: "That the national convention declares, they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered or are now suffering in the cause of liberty." They also decreed, that the duchy of Savoy should be the eighty-fourth department of the French republic, although expressly contrary to a fundamental article of their constitution; and that the navigation on the river Scheldt should be free. It may be here necessary to mention, that although the French received some checks in the commencement of the war, the tide of fortune turned remarkably in their favour, so that, before the close of the year, the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, Luxembourg only excepted, and the city and territory of Liege, were subjected by their arms; and the armies of Prussia and Germany were compelled to evacuate the French do-

minions. Intoxicated by these successes, they passed the decrees above mentioned, obviously in contempt of the independence of the neighbouring nations.

In consequence of the overthrow of royalty in August, the English ambassador, by orders from his court, quitted Paris; but the French ambassador, though no longer acknowledged in that capacity, remained in London. Our court also made an offer of assistance to our ally the States-General, who seemed at this time under no apprehensions; and an embargo was laid on all vessels freighted with corn for France.

The intelligence lately received in England of the violent and barbarous proceedings in Paris, excited among the people a general sentiment of loyalty and attachment to the constitution of the country, and associations were formed in all counties, cities, and boroughs, against the designs of republicans and levellers. These societies were the more animated in making such declarations, as an address was sent from certain persons belonging to what were called patriotic societies, to the French convention, and presented at their bar in the beginning of November, approving of their conduct, and expressing sentiments unfriendly to the respect due to their country and its sovereign, and in a style the most insolent and daring.

The reception this address met with from the National Convention, together with the decree already mentioned, of the 19th of November, were aggressions which the English ministry determined not to overlook. Accordingly, on the 1st of December, a royal proclamation was issued, announcing, "that notwithstanding the late proclamation of the 21st of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within the kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and constitution; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder, thereby excited, had lately shown itself in acts of riot and insurrection; and that these causes moving him thereto, his majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom." Troops were at the same time marched toward the metropolis,

the guard at the Bank doubled, and the fortifications of the Tower repaired.

The parliament assembled on the 13th of December. In the opening speech, his majesty, after recapitulating the heads of the proclamation, declared, that he had carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and had uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal affairs of France; but it was impossible for him to see, without the most serious uneasiness, the strong and increasing indications which had appeared there of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and to pursue views of conquest and aggrandizement, as well as to adopt toward his allies the States-General (who had observed the same neutrality with his majesty) measures which were neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under all these circumstances, his majesty felt it his indispensable duty to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law: and had also thought it right to take steps for making some augmentation of the naval and military forces.

The address moved to this speech occasioned very animated and long debates in the house of commons, where it nevertheless was carried by a majority of 290 to 50; in so great a degree had the ranks of opposition been thinned by desertion. In the house of lords, it passed without a division. The opposition, among other distinguished characters, had lost in the upper house, the prince of Wales, the duke of Portland, and lords Fitzwilliam, Spencer and Loughborough; in the house of commons, Messrs. Burke, Wyndham, Anstruther, sir Gilbert Elliot, and many others whose attachment to that party had been hitherto unshaken.

A war between France and England seemed now inevitable; yet France affected to preserve a show of conciliation. On the 17th of December, a memorial was presented by M. Chauvelin, the ambassador, to lord Grenville, in which he informs his lordship, that the

executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it in the state of suspense into which it has been thrown by the late measures of the British government, have authorized him to demand with openness, whether France ought to consider England as a neutral or hostile power; at the same time being solicitous, that not the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France toward England, and of its desire to remain in peace. He also endeavoured in this memorial to explain the decree of the 19th of November, to declare that France will not attack Holland, so long as Holland remains neutral, and that the navigation of the Scheldt was a question of too little importance to be made the sole cause of war. The purport of lord Grenville's answer was, that if France was really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, and without violating their rights.

A further correspondence on this subject was continued at various times until the end of January, 1793. when lord Grenville notified to M. Chauvelin, that the character with which he had been invested at the British court, and the functions of which had been suspended so long, being now entirely terminated by the death of his most Christian majesty, he had no longer any public character here; and that his majesty had thought fit to order that he should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days. In consequence of this dismission, the convention unanimously passed a decree, declaring the republic at war with the king of Great Britain and the stadtholder of Holland.

The death of the king of France, above alluded to, took place on the 21st of January, and was undoubtedly one of the most atrocious and unprovoked acts of cruelty which had yet disgraced the French revolution. It was effected by the same party which had long meditated the subversion of royalty, and had prepared the

people to accede to this public exhibition of cruelty by imputing to the king crimes which he either could not commit, or could not avoid from the inconsistent and perplexed nature of the authority granted to him. A tribunal was appointed, in which the convention sat in the capacity of judges, jurors, and witnesses. The trial had few of the regular forms of law, and was destitute of the shadow of justice. His death was, however, formally decreed, and he was beheaded at the public place of execution with every circumstance of cruel indignity.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

In consequence of the French declaration of war, a royal message was delivered, on the 11th of February, to the two houses of parliament, announcing, "That the assembly now exercising the powers of government in France, had, without previous notice, directed acts of hostility to be committed against the persons and property of his majesty's subjects, in breach of the law of nations, and of the most positive stipulations of treaty; and had since, on the most groundless pretences, actually declared war against his majesty and the United Provinces. Under the circumstances of this wanton and unprovoked aggression, his majesty had taken the necessary steps to maintain the honour of his crown, and to vindicate the rights of his people. And his majesty relied with confidence on the firm and effectual support of parliament, and on the zealous exertions of a brave and loyal people, in prosecuting a just and necessary war; and in endeavouring, under the blessing of Providence, to oppose an effectual barrier to the progress of a system which struck at the security and peace of all independent nations, and was pursued in open defiance of every principle of moderation, good faith, humanity, and justice. In a cause of such general concern, his majesty had every reason to hope for the cordial co-operation of those powers who were united with his majesty by the ties of alli-

ance, or who felt an interest in preventing the extension of anarchy and confusion, and in contributing to the security and tranquillity of Europe."

I have given this message without abridgement, because it forms a counter declaration of war, and contains assertions, which, however just at the time, for that was a matter of dispute, have been confirmed by the whole progress of the French during the whole period of the war: I allude particularly to the "system which struck at the security and peace of all independent nations." Never was prophecy more exactly fulfilled. The debates, however, in consequence of the usual motion for an address, were exceedingly warm. Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and the few who now composed the whig or opposition party, contended against the justice and necessity of the war; but the address was finally carried without a division.

On the 18th of February, Mr. Fox introduced a set of resolutions of which the outlines are worth preserving, as they exhibit the principles on which those gentlemen acted who opposed the war on its outset and progress. These resolutions asserted, that it was not for the honour or interest of Great Britain to make war upon France, on account of the internal circumstances of that country; for the purpose either of suppressing or punishing any opinions and principles, however pernicious in their tendency, which may prevail there; or of establishing among the French people any particular form of government; that the particular complaints which have been made against the conduct of the French government were not of a nature to justify war in the first instance, without having attempted to obtain redress by negociation; and in the late negociation between his majesty's ministers and the agents of the French government, the ministers did not take such measures as were likely to procure redress, without a rupture, for the grievances of which they complain; and, particularly, that they never stated distinctly to the French government any terms and conditions, the accession to which, on the part of France, would induce his majesty to persevere in a system of neutrality; that it did not appear that

the tranquillity of Europe, and the rights of independent nations, which have been stated as grounds of war against France, were attended to by his majesty's ministers in the case of Poland; and that it was the duty of his majesty's ministers, in the present crisis, to advise his majesty against entering into engagements which might prevent Great Britain from making a separate peace whenever the interests of his majesty and his people rendered such a measure adviseable, or which might countenance an opinion in Europe that his majesty was acting in concert with other powers, for the unjustifiable purpose of compelling the people of France to submit to a form of government not approved by that nation. These resolutions were rejected by a majority of 270 against 44. Mr. Grey, a few days after, made a similar attempt, which was negatived without a division.

The ministry now began to adopt such internal regulations as the exigencies of the time required; one of which was, the Traitorous Correspondence Act, by which it was declared to be high treason to supply the existing government of France with military stores, &c. or to purchase lands of inheritance in France, or invest money in any of the French funds.

In the mean time the war was carried on upon the continent, by the allied powers formerly engaged, with various success. In the course of the winter, general Dumouriez had proposed to his government, or the executive council of France, as it was called, to take possession of Maestricht; but this was refused. He entered the Dutch territory, however, on the 17th of February, and, from fear or treachery, Breda, the fort of Klundert, and Gertruydenburg, surrendered to the French arms. On the 1st of March, general Clairfait attacked the French posts, and compelled them to retreat; with the loss of 2000 men; while the archduke, brother to the emperor, carried several batteries; the prince of Cobourg also defeated the French general Valence, who lost more than 5000 men. All the French armies were now compelled to fall back; and general Dumouriez arriving to take the command, his own army was successfully attacked by the Prus-

sians, the Hanoverians, and several thousands of British troops, who had now joined the alliance, under the command of the duke of York. On the 18th of March, a general engagement took place between the French army under Dumouriez, and the combined forces, in which the French were totally routed, on the plains of Neerwinden.

Dumouriez continued retreating, and on the 21st took post near Louvain, where a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon; and here he is said to have meditated a design of marching to Paris, to re-establish the constitutional monarchy; but this was discovered by the executive government, and three commissioners were sent to know the fact. It being made plain, he was summoned to appear at the bar of the convention. Confiding in the fidelity of his army, he treated this summons with contempt, and sent the four commissioners who brought it to the Austrian headquarters at Tournay, to be kept as hostages for the safety of the royal family. But in a few days he was convinced that the army was not to be relied on for any purposes in which loyalty was concerned, and, after haranguing them to no purpose, was compelled to make his escape.

The defeat of one French army, and the confusion occasioned by Dumouriez's defection, seemed to consolidate the alliances against France: she was now at war with Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, Holland, Spain, Sardinia, and the Sicilies. In this emergency, the convention appointed general Dampiere to succeed Dumouriez, and various partial engagements took place between his and the allied army; at length the latter projected the siege of Valenciennes, which was conducted with spirit and success; the English and Austrians made themselves masters of it on the 25th of July; and about the same time the garrison of Conde, and the city of Mentz, submitted to the allied forces. The British army, now separated from that of the Austrians, formed a distinct army with the Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians, under the command of the Duke of York. On the 18th of August they recovered the strong post of Lincelles,

lost by the Dutch, and on the 24th opened the trenches before Dunkirk; but 12,000 veteran troops having been sent to reinforce the garrison, it was found impracticable to succeed, and after two engagements, in which the garrison was victorious, it was found necessary to raise the siege, and that with such precipitation as to lose a complete train of heavy artillery. The French general, however, Houchard, was beheaded for not cutting off the retreat of the English, as it was supposed he might have done; and general Custine, another successful commander, met with the same fate at the hands of the sanguinary banditti who now ruled in France. New commanders were then sent to the army, and the campaign was continued with alternate success and defeat, the result of which only can be expected to appear in a sketch of this nature.

Many of the proceedings of parliament arose out of events connected with the success of this campaign. The French, it was supposed, were fighting for liberty and independence, although evidently fighting under a government the most tyrannical they had ever suffered to exist: yet, upon this presumption, the opponents of the war continued to blame its principle and progress. An attempt was also made in the month of May, which led to consequences very nearly connected with the internal peace of the country, and the great political theories which had arisen from the French revolution. This was a motion, made by Mr. Grey, for a reform in the representation of the commons house of parliament, strengthened by several petitions, the majority of which claimed, as a matter of absolute right, the wild scheme of universal suffrage. What had happened in France, however, from letting loose an ignorant and furious democracy, was sufficient to deter the commons of Great Britain from entering on any change for the present; and hence 41 votes only agreed to refer the petitions to a committee, while 282 were deeidedly against it.

In Scotland, a numerous association had actually been formed, and met at Edinburgh, under the title of a Convention of Delegates for obtaining Universal

Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. It was composed of the lower classes of the people, who adopted the style and language of the French convention, particularly in the use of the title *citizen*. The delegates of this society, however, who were appointed to correspond with similar, but more private, societies in England, were apprehended on a charge of sedition, and of their number Messrs. Muir, Gerald, Skirving, and Margarot, being found guilty, were sentenced to be transported beyond the seas for the term of fourteen years. This rigour of punishment, unknown in England, occasioned much controversy, and was eagerly debated in parliament, but without any change in the sentences. Mr. Palmer, a clergyman in Scotland, but an Englishman by birth, was also transported for seven years, for a seditious handbill.

That any body of men should at this time have looked to France for an example of political reformation, or recovered liberties, is among those extraordinary perversions of intellect for which party spirit only can account. A short sketch of the proceedings in that country, since the death of the king, will sufficiently develope the misery of those revolutions of which the leaders are destitute of principle, virtue, or humanity. On the 15th of February 1793, the plan of a new constitution, on pure republican principles, was presented to the convention by M. Condorcet. Of this constitution it may suffice to mention one article, namely, that the executive council was to be chosen by the people at large. The whole was allowed to be absurd, and the jacobin party were not sorry it was so, as it did not interfere with the design to usurp the entire tyranny of the state, which they had long formed. In the month of March, a revolutionary tribunal was established for the trial of persons accused of offences against the state: the whole proceedings of this court were absolute and arbitrary, and the crimes of which it took cognizance were any suspicions that the party uppermost in power chose to suggest. Its effects were dreadful, but were first felt by the Brissotine party, or party of which Brissot was the leader, and which was also called the Gironde. This, and the jacobin fac-

tion, at this time divided the *welfare* of the state, but in very unequal proportions, the jacobins being far more numerous, and notwithstanding their execrable character, far more popular. Having outnumbered the Brissotines in the convention, the jacobins introduced another constitution, which however, like every thing that had the appearance of regularity and law, never was acted upon. The disputes between these two parties occasioned great commotions in several of the provinces, and some attempts to return to allegiance to the family of Louis XVI. The people of Toulon, with the French admiral Trugoff, surrendered that town to admiral Hood, who was then cruizing in the Mediterranean, and who took possession of the town and shipping in the name of Louis XVII.

On this favourable appearance, however, it was soon found that little dependence could be placed. The republican army immediately commenced the siege of Toulon, and with all the advantages of a country devoted to their cause. General O'Hara, who had reinforced the garrison with troops from Gibraltar, was wounded and taken prisoner in a sortie; and the French gaining two important forts which commanded the town, it became necessary to evacuate it. Thousands of the inhabitants were conveyed on board the English fleet. The stores and men of war belonging to Toulon were set on fire, and three ships of the line only were brought away by the British admiral. Lyons, another city, in which there were many disaffected to the republican government, was invested by general Doppet, who exercised barbarities unheard of, and almost incredible; numbers of the helpless people were killed by grape-shot discharged from artillery; and many were huddled in barks, and sunk in the river.

The cruelties of the jacobins in detail, are not less horrible than in these general displays of undiscriminating barbarity. The revolutionary tribunal began its operations by ordering Marie Antoinette, the queen, to be brought before them; and, after the mockery of a trial, the unhappy princess was condemned to the guillotine; a sentence which was preceded and followed by every mark of gross indignity. The Gironde party,

consisting of twenty-two, among whom were Brissot, Vergniaud, Valaze, Sillery, &c. were next executed. One of the crimes imputed to them was that of having caused war to be declared against Austria, England, and Holland; an accusation which was certainly true, but of which certainly a very singular use was now made. To enumerate all the victims of this tribunal were impossible: every person distinguished for talents, or suspected of not being attached to the jacobin party, was apprehended and executed; some with the form of a trial, but many even without it. Among those who fell by retributive justice was the execrable Philip duke of Orleans; and it was observed, in general, that the most active promoters of the revolution now reaped the fruits of their enthusiasm.

But it was not by cruelty only that the convention wished to immortalize their memory. Impiety must be added, to perfect the degradation of the nation, and more completely to bring the cause of liberty into contempt. Gobet, the republican bishop of Paris, and a number of other ecclesiastics, entered the hall of the convention, and solemnly resigned their functions, with blasphemous speeches, which were received with loud applause. The churches were now shut up, or applied to profane purposes; and a painted strumpet was enthroned in the cathedral of Notre Dame, by the name of the Goddess of Reason. The observance of Sunday was abolished, and a new calendar formed, in which that day was omitted, the months being divided into decades, each tenth day making a holiday. At this time a wretch, low in birth and manners, but of inflexible barbarity, became the supreme leader of the government, if it any longer deserved the name. This was Robespierre, a scourge inflicted on the French people, to which they submitted with characteristic servility. Even at the moment when this monster was exercising his barbarities on the helpless inhabitants of Paris, "the masque, the song, the theatric scene, the buffoon laughter, went on as regularly as in the gay hour of festive peace."

In the mean time, however chequered the success of the army on the continent, the navy of Great Britain

maintained its usual superiority, and various colonial conquests were the first fruits of its exertions. In the course of the summer, Tobago was taken by admiral La Forey, and the settlements of Fort Jeremie and Cape Nicolas Mole, in St. Domingo, were surrendered to the English, who also made an easy prey of the islands of Miquelon and St. Pierre, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the East-Indies became masters of Pondicherry, Mahe, and the other French settlements on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar.

Previous to the meeting of parliament, a declaration
1794. was published by the court of St. James's, expressive of his majesty's intentions and principles in the conduct of the war, and probably with a view to recall the deluded people of France to a sense of what they had lost and what they had gained. In this it is stated, that "his majesty by no means disputed the right of France to reform its laws. It never would have been his wish to employ the influence of external force with respect to the particular form of government to be established in an independent country. Neither had he that wish now, except in so far as such interference became essential to the security and repose of other powers. Under these circumstances he demanded from France, and demanded with justice, the termination of a system of anarchy which had no force but for the purpose of mischief. His majesty demanded that some legitimate and stable government should be established, founded on the acknowledged principles of universal justice, and capable of maintaining with other powers the accustomed relations of union and peace. It was for these objects that he called upon the people of France to join the standard of an hereditary monarchy, not for the purpose of deciding, in this moment of disorder, calamity, and public danger, on all the modifications of which this form of government may hereafter be susceptible, but in order to unite themselves once more under the empire of law, of morality, and religion." This manifesto, however, produced no effect; it was addressed to a people at this time beyond the reach of argument or reflection.

On the meeting of parliament, various attempts were

made by the opposition to induce his majesty's ministers to put a stop to a war, which seemed to promise nothing that was expected from it. Their general sentiments, at this crisis, were expressed in a motion brought forward by the marquis of Lansdowne, the purport of which was, to represent to his majesty the extreme improbability of conquering France: that the dismemberment of France, if attainable, would augment the strength of the powers most to be dreaded; that opinions cannot be controlled by arms; that experience has demonstrated the futility of every attempt to interfere in the internal government of France, even if the justice were problematical; and that we must incur the keenest reproaches, if we encouraged further revolts in a country, where we had been unable to save those who put confidence in us from extermination and ruin: therefore "to implore his majesty to declare, without delay, his disposition to make peace upon such just, disinterested, and liberal terms, as were calculated to render the peace lasting; and that he would signify this intention to his allies, that a stop might be put to the effusion of human blood." The ministers, however, were, from all circumstances, convinced that no security could be had in a negociation with such rulers as France now submitted to, and that there was an absolute necessity of vigour and perseverance on our part. The issue, therefore, of these questions was at all times decidedly in favour of the ministry, and without doors the people seemed cheerfully to acquiesce in the continuance of a war, which, whatever it might effect on the continent, promised to preserve our island from the miseries of a revolutionary government. The military and naval force was accordingly augmented this year to 250,000 men, including about 35,000 foreigners; and a new loan was created of 11,000,000*l.* three per cents. and 2,750,000*l.* four per cents., with the addition of a temporary annuity of about one half per cent. for 11,000,000*l.* actually borrowed. A treaty was also concluded with the king of Sardinia, by which Great Britain agreed to pay his majesty 200,000*l.*, and also not to make any peace with France, unless the restoration of the conquered Sar-

dinian territories was a preliminary. The militia was augmented this year, with the addition of volunteer fencible corps, the enrolments into which were made with great promptitude. These were to act in case of an invasion, which at this time was the avowed intention of the enemy. The foreign alliances were in April confirmed by a treaty of subsidy with the king of Prussia, and a convention with the states-general of Holland. His Prussian majesty was to furnish 62,000 troops, for which his Britannic majesty agreed to pay 50,000*l.* per month, 100,000*l.* per month for forage, 400,000*l.* to put the army in motion, and 100,000*l.* on their return; and of all these sums, the states-general agreed to pay 400,000*l.* as their proportion. A loan of 2,500,000*l.* was raised to make good these engagements.

It has already been noticed that, notwithstanding the unbounded mischiefs occasioned in France by the wild and disorganizing principles upon which the revolution was founded, there were many persons in this country who had followed the early steps of that revolution, by an affected imitation of the French proceedings. Their conduct became so alarming to government, that, in the month of May, Mr. Dundas, the secretary of state for the home-department, introduced a message from his majesty, stating that seditious practices had been carried on by certain societies in London, in correspondence with other societies; that they had lately been pursued with increasing activity and boldness, and been avowedly directed to the assembling of a pretended national convention of the people, in contempt and defiance of the authority of parliament, on principles subversive of the existing laws and constitution, and tending to introduce that system of anarchy prevailing in France; that his majesty had given orders for seizing the books and papers of those societies, which were to be laid before the house; and that it was recommended to the house to consider them, and to pursue such measures as were necessary in order to prevent their pernicious tendency. When these papers were laid before the house, Mr. Pitt endeavoured to call the attention of the house to

their contents, which, in his opinion, went to prove that a society, composed of the meanest of the people, acting upon jacobinical principles, had within it the means of the most unbounded extension and rapid increase. He detailed its whole proceedings, in which the French model was very evident, although probably in more peaceable times, and before the consequences of such interference with the authority of government had been terribly exemplified in France, they might have excited ridicule rather than alarm. At present it was too obvious what they proceeded from, and what they led to. He, therefore, moved for leave to bring in a bill to empower his majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of designs against his crown and government. The opposition contended against this bill, as not warranted by necessary evidence, contrasted the proceedings of these societies with others in former days, in which the minister himself and many of his friends were concerned, and in general denied the existence of a treasonable conspiracy. Lord Thurlow was of opinion that the facts stated in the papers laid before the house amounted not to high treason, but to sedition. The bill, however, passed by a great majority, and we may here notice the result of it.

Several persons were apprehended as the ringleaders in the societies, and detained in prison for the greater part of the summer. In the mean time Watt and Downie, two men of low rank in Scotland, were tried there for high treason, and convicted: Watt was executed pursuant to his sentence; but Downie, who appeared to have been the dupe of the other, had his punishment changed to transportation. About the same time a rumour was raised in London of an attempt to assassinate his majesty; and three persons of the the names of Le Maitre, Higgins, and Smith, were apprehended on this charge, but afterwards set at liberty, as the whole appeared too mysterious and confused for legal investigation. Of the persons apprehended on the charge of high treason, and who were twelve in number, Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall, were brought to trial, by special

commission, at the Old Bailey. The indictment contained nine overt acts of high treason, purporting that these persons did conspire to summon delegates to a national convention, with a view to subvert the government of the country, and to levy war against the king.

Hardy was first brought to the bar, and, after a long trial of nine days, acquitted by his jury. This verdict seemed to give the tone to the rest, and Tooke and Thelwall were also acquitted, after the most minute and serious investigation. The opinion of lord Thurlow appears to have been hereby confirmed; their crimes could not be proved to amount to high treason, although of their seditious tendency their could be no doubt.

In the course of this year, some of the members of the opposition, who deserted that party on the breaking out of the war, were now admitted into a share of the administration. Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed president of the council; earl Spencer, lord privy seal; the duke of Portland, third secretary of state; and Mr. Wyndham, secretary at war. But before the close of the year, earl Fitzwilliam was promoted to be lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and lord Mansfield succeeded him as president of the council: and lord Spencer succeeded lord Chatham as first lord of the admiralty; a change which produced the happiest effects on the naval service.

LETTER LXXXIX.

THE commencement of the campaign of 1794 exhibited some symptoms of disunion among the confederates. The duke of Brunswic, who had hithero commanded the Prussian army, resigned, and was succeeded by field-marshal Mullendorf, and this was followed by his majesty of Prussia's announcing his secession from the confederacy. This, however, was prevented for a time by the treaty of subsidy noticed in my former letter; but it was evident that this sovereign no longer gave a cordial aid to the cause. At a general council of war, in the month of March, the

imperial general Haddich proposed that general Clairfait should be commander of the auxiliary forces, and that the duke of York should act under him, while the prince of Cobourg was at the head of the grand imperial army. The duke of York refusing these terms, it was determined that the emperor should assume the supreme command in person. The operations of war then commenced, and, after a short siege, the fortress of Landresi was taken by the prince of Cobourg; but, in consequence of the French general Pichegru's plan, the republicans carried the post of Moucron, and made themselves masters of Courtray and Menin.

Nothing material happened after this for above two months. In June, the French under general Jourdain laid siege to the town of Charleroi, which the prince of Cobourg determined to relieve. On the 24th, having joined the prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, he gave battle to the French, on the 26th, near Fleurus, but was defeated with immense loss, and Charleroi and Brussels surrendered to the enemy, who also got possession of Ypres, compelling the Austrians under general Clairfait to retreat. At this time the emperor left the army, after endeavouring by a proclamation to rouse the spirit of the people of the country to repel their invaders. But in the whole progress of this campaign the inhabitants of almost every country invaded by the French quietly submitted to their power. Ostend, Tournay, and Ghent, about nearly the same time, fell into the hands of the enemy. In the mean time, lord Moira reached the army of the allies with ten thousand men, part of the army which was intended to assist in restoring royalty in Brittany, if any remains of that principle could have been found.

The whole of the last year's campaign was now reversed; and by a series of actions, few of which were important, the French got possession of Mons, Oudenarde, Nieuport, Mecklin, Antwerp, Namur, &c. The allied army was every where incapable of making a stand against the immense reinforcements of the French, assisted as they were, or at least but feebly opposed, by the inhabitants of the Austrian and Dutch Netherlands, which now fell entirely into their hands:

and Pichegru, the French commander, took advantage of a severe frost, about the middle of December, to add the United Provinces to the conquests of this campaign. The Dutch were in general disaffected to their government, and had become the willing dupes of some among themselves, and of some French agents, who inspired them with the love of that fallacious liberty which had deluded a considerable part of the continent. The retreat of the allies, in the beginning of 1795, became unavoidable from these causes, and the stadtholder found it impossible to excite the people to any regard for their interests as an independent power. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, surrendered without resistance; and a few days after the stadtholder and family made their escape in an open boat, and arrived in England. Pichegru triumphantly entered Amsterdam, and, by order of the states-general, every fortress in the republic surrendered to the French. No people in Europe welcomed the French with more cordiality than the Dutch, and none paid so dearly for this treachery to themselves and their posterity.

The French armies were not less successful in other quarters. After sustaining a partial defeat by the Prussians at Keyserlautern, they defeated the Prussians under general Desaix, regained Keyserlautern, and the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves. In the war with Spain, they gained victories at St. Jean de Luz, at Ceret, and a decisive one near Collienure; and before the conclusion of the campaign, notwithstanding a brave resistance on the part of the Spanish troops, had made an impression on the country, which augured a speedy surrender of its independence. In the Sardinian territory, they forced the pass of Mount Cenis, and took possession of Oneglia, and a considerable part of the champaign country of Piedmont.

Disastrous as these events proved to the allied armies, and the cause for which they had combined, the British navy in every quarter of the globe maintained its superior character, and indeed raised it to a pitch unknown in the former wars. In addition to the islands already conquered, Sir John Jervis and Sir Charles Grey took possession of Martinico, which resisted for some

weeks; and Commodore Ford and Colonel Whitlock reduced Cape Tiburon, and some other posts in St. Domingo. St. Lucia and Guadaloupe were also taken; but a French squadron landing on the latter, carried one of the forts by storm, and soon after regained possession of the island. In the month of February 1794, the island of Corsica, which had been for some time in a state of revolt against the French, was visited by lord Hood's squadron, and in a few months the representatives of the Corsican nation voted the union of Corsica with the British crown, and formed a constitution nearly on the model of that of France in 1791. Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic majesty, assumed the rank of viceroy; and this, for some time, was considered as a more important acquisition than in the event it proved.

But the most brilliant action in which the navy was concerned occurred on the 1st of June. The French were at this time in great want of provisions and naval stores, their revolutionary madness having interrupted agriculture and manufactures, and were expecting a rich convoy from America, valued, according to report, at five millions. To save this from the British fleets, which began now to cover the seas, they determined to risk an engagement between their Brest fleet of twenty-six sail of the line, and that of lord Howe, of equal force, cruising at that time in the harbour. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides, but with little ability on the part of the French; the carnage on board their ships was immense; the Vengeur of 74 guns went down during the action, six ships of the line were taken by lord Howe, and brought safe into Plymouth, the rest made their escape in a very shattered state. All they had to console them was, that the American convoy arrived safe in port a few days after this engagement.

To sacrifice the naval reputation of France for the sake of a convoy, was not the least extraordinary proceeding of the factions which alternately tyrannized over that country. Another party now rose, called the Cordeliers, men more destitute of principle than that of Robespierre; who, however, procured the death of

this party, as well as of several other members of the convention, whom he suspected of a design to supplant him in what was thought popular favour. Among the other victims to the barbarity of this monster, was the virtuous and innocent princess Elizabeth, sister to the late king, who was put to death without any pretence of guilt; but the career of Robespierre was now nearly at an end. Another faction rose, and, by inspiring the convention with a momentary spirit of resistance, procured the arrest of the tyrant and his accomplices, who, to the number of twenty-one, were executed amid the execration of the populace, of that populace who had beheld for two years the atrocities of republican tyranny with perfect composure. The jacobin club was now abolished, the proscribed members of the convention, who had escaped the guillotine by Robespierre's death, were restored to their seats; the prisons were emptied, and a decree of the infamous Barrere, that no quarter should be given to the English or Hanoverian soldiers, was formally repealed. To the honour of the French army it must be recorded, that they never acted upon it. Some degree of order seemed now revived; but the government was still the government of a faction, and regular only as it approached to the military form. The troops every where fought without regard to the internal politics of their country. They imagined they were fighting for liberty and a republic, and the time was yet distant when their eyes were to be opened to the real nature of that for which they contended.

The parliament assembled again in November, when his majesty expressed in the opening speech, that, notwithstanding the disappointments and reverses which the allied arms had experienced in the course of the last campaign, he retained a firm conviction of the necessity of persisting in a vigorous prosecution of the just and necessary war in which the nation was engaged. His majesty remarked, that, in considering the situation of their enemies, they could not fail to observe that the efforts which had led to their successes, and the unexampled means by which alone those efforts could have been supported, had produced among themselves the pernicious effects which were to

be expected; and that every thing which had passed in the interior of the country had shown the progressive and rapid decay of their resources, and the instability of every part of that violent and unnatural system, which was equally ruinous to France, and incompatible with the tranquillity of other nations. His majesty assured the parliament that he should omit no opportunity of concerting the operations of the next campaign with such of the powers of Europe as were impressed with the same sense of the necessity of vigour and exertion.

In reply to the usual address moved to this speech, the opposition contended for peace, and saw no difficulty in treating with France at the present period. Mr. Wilberforce, who usually voted with ministry, inclined also to this opinion, and did not think the country would be at all degraded by a declaration for peace. On the other hand, Mr. Pitt asserted, that although his majesty's speech did not pledge the house never to make peace with the republican government of France, yet he had no idea of a secure peace till the return of the monarchy, which he thought the best form of government for all the nations of Europe. The change which had taken place in France was a change not in substance, but merely in name. Peace, could it be obtained, would not place us in a situation of confidence. We must, on the contrary, increase our precautions. Hostilities would begin again in a short time, as soon as France saw our military force diminished; and we should be again opposed to an enemy who might have found it as difficult to disband his armies as we should to obtain fresh forces. Even if disposed to peace, their rulers would be compelled by fear to give them new employment. If we dissolved the continental confederacy, we could not again hope to see it restored: we should then be exposed alone to the fury of France. These arguments prevailed, and their force was felt throughout the nation. There was a more strict unanimity in the conduct of this war than of the last. It was considered as defensive, against a nation meditating the subversion of government, order, and religion.

For the exigencies of the year, the minister proposed
1795. a loan to assist the emperor of Germany, not exceeding 4,600,000*l.* One hundred thousand seamen, and one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers, including militia, were also voted; and the loan proposed was for eighteen millions, to defray the interest of which new taxes were laid, which occasioned very little opposition. During the sitting of parliament various motions were made by the members of the minority in both houses, which had for their object a negociation for peace, or a declaration that the present government of France was not an obstacle in the way of a negociation. But all these were negatived, sometimes without a division.

In Ireland considerable disturbances had arisen from the sudden recall of earl Fitzwilliam. It was supposed his lordship, when he accepted the office of viceroy, was empowered to accede to certain concessions in favour of the Roman Catholics. A subsequent determination of government thwarted his lordship's powers and intentions, and there was a visible dissatisfaction throughout that kingdom in consequence of this disappointment. Whether it was proper to concede more at that time to the catholics than they had obtained by former acts, has long been an undecided question; but it is certain, that, from this period, the association called the "Society of United Irishmen" extended itself over all the country, and, from a consciousness that its motives and purposes were equally illegal, all its proceedings were conducted with oaths of secrecy, and a lawless and desperate populace were organized into a force ready to burst forth with the first opportunity, and realize the miseries of rebellion and anarchy. That opportunity was, however, not yet in immediate prospect.

The affairs of the campaign of 1795 were less interesting than those of the former year: the successes of the French were very little interrupted, and the confederacy was in a great measure broken by a peace concluded on the 5th of April between the French republic and the court of Berlin, and, soon after, with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel and the elector of Han-

over. The success of the republican arms on the side of Spain was so alarming, that the king was obliged to propose a treaty of peace, which was signed on the 22d of July. By this treaty France relinquished her conquests in Spain, and in return received all the Spanish part of the island of St. Domingo. About the same time, the grand duke of Tuscany, by a proclamation, repealed all acts of adhesion, consent, and accession to the armed coalition against the French republic. The chief events of the campaign, which attracted public notice, were the surrender of Luxembourg, which had long been besieged by the French, and defended with uncommon bravery, by marshal Bender, and the siege of Mentz, from which the French were repulsed with great loss by the Austrians, who also laid siege to and re-took Manheim. The campaign at length terminated by an armistice of three months.

The naval transactions of the same period are not very important. In March an engagement took place in the Mediterranean between two squadrons of nearly equal force, commanded by admirals Hotham and Richery, in which the English captured two ships of the line, the Ca Ira of 80, and the Centaur of 74; and the French unfortunately captured the Berwick of 74, in its way to join the fleet. The Illustrious of 74 guns was driven on shore and lost near Avenza. Admiral Cornwallis, with five ships of the line, fell in with a French fleet of thirteen line-of-battle ships, and, notwithstanding the amazing disparity, kept a running fight the whole day (June 16) without allowing the enemy to gain any advantage. On the 23d, this very fleet fell in with a superior one under lord Bridport, off port l'Orient, and was defeated with the loss of three first rates, which struck. The rest of the squadron got into L'Orient, by keeping close in shore.

In the West-Indies, the French recovered Fort Tiburon in St. Domingo, St. Eustatius, and St. Lucia. The French commander here, Victor Hugues, carried on war by means of insurrections among the negroes and people of colour; a manœuvre on which his coun-

trymen have since had no reason to reflect with satisfaction. The possession of Holland by the French now induced the English government to seize on the Dutch vessels in the ports of Great Britain, and to authorise the capture of all Dutch ships and property; and, in the course of the summer, the Cape of Good Hope surrendered to admiral Elphinstone without much resistance.

An unfortunate descent was attempted this year on the French coast, in order to aid the insurgents of La Vendee, who appeared to retain royalist principles. A considerable body of the emigrants, who had resided in England since the Paris massacres of 1792, were employed in this expedition, and the command given to M. Puisaye: the only principal officers were M. D'Hervilly and the count de Sombreuil. In the beginning of June the advanced guard of this army, amounting to between 4 and 5000 men, embarked under convoy of a squadron commanded by Sir John Borlase Warren. On the 25th, the fleet anchored at Quiberon Bay, and next day the troops landed, and were received with a show of welcome, which induced them to distribute the arms they had brought without discrimination. After a series of manœuvres, however, by the republican army, which now collected, this gallant force was defeated, and the count de Sombreuil, the bishop of Dol, and others of his clergy, with the officers, were tried by a military tribunal, and shot. The whole conduct of this enterprise was afterward severely censured in England: the invaders appear, indeed, to have been grossly deceived: the insurgents were broken down, and no reliance for any permanent effort could be placed on the remains of loyal spirit in France.

In that country, new factions and disturbances at length gave way to another attempt to form a constitution, which was presented on the 23d of August: the principal articles were, that the legislative power was vested in two councils; the one, entitled the legislative council, consisting of 500; the other, the senate or council of elders, consisting of 250 members. The executive power was vested in a directory of five

members. It is not necessary to give a more particular detail of a constitution, which, like its predecessors, was a mere form; but the present brief notice may serve to explain the names of Councils and Directory, which for some time will frequently occur. It is still less necessary to detail the bloody battles of the factions who supported or opposed these frequent changes of government. Let it suffice to state, that, on the 27th of October, the national convention was dissolved; that convention, during whose sittings every vestige of the ancient government was destroyed, and an imaginary republic established at the expense of justice and humanity. The directors first chosen were Reveilliere Lepaux, Reubel, Letourneur de la Manche, Barras, and Carnot, one of the principal actors in the murders and proscriptions.

Before I close this letter, some notice must be taken of a very beneficial treaty of amity and commerce ratified between Great Britain and the United States of America, which put an end to some misunderstandings between the two governments, that had subsisted a considerable time. In the beginning of this year, likewise, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, the consequences of which will be apparent hereafter.

The political principles which had been disseminated by certain societies, and had given that alarm to government which occasioned the state trials, were not yet wholly extinct, although certainly confined to the lowest of the populace. The corresponding society, as it was called, still continued its correspondence and its meetings; but, as privacy cannot always suit the designs of those whose final object is public tumult, they began to summon meetings in the open fields, where some orators, nearly as illiterate but more artful than their hearers, addressed an immense concourse of people, and spread considerable alarm over the metropolis. The most remarkable of those meetings took place on the 26th of October, at Copenhagen-house, on the road to Hampstead. The numbers assembled on that day were computed at 40,000, of which it may be supposed the greater part had no other

motive than curiosity. But among them were some whose object lay deeper, as we shall soon see: the pretence, however, of those who collected this mob was an address and remonstrance to his majesty, which being voted, the whole dispersed peaceably. The purpose of this address and remonstrance was the wild measure of universal suffrage and annual parliaments; and, in the harangues of the leaders, these objects were recommended in the most indecent language, as depending not on the parliament, but on the people themselves, who were incited, in a manner not very equivocal, to do themselves justice.

LETTER XC.

THE licentious spirit, which had been more or less promoted among the lower classes of society in England since the first period of the revolution in France, appeared in an act of outrageous disloyalty, at the meeting of the parliament on the 29th of October. As his majesty was proceeding, in his usual state, to the house of lords, a vast mob insulted him with repeated cries and hissings; stones were thrown at the coach, and a bullet, or something of that kind, was discharged, probably from an air-gun, and passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On his return to St. James's palace, this violent attack was renewed by the same or another mob, assembled in the Park, who assaulted his majesty in his way to join the royal family at Buckingham house, and were prevented from their nefarious designs only by the appearance of a party of the guards.

Such an event as this could not happen in the metropolis of Great Britain without exciting sensations of universal abhorrence. Addresses were presented from all quarters, breathing the warmest sentiments of loyalty and attachment to his majesty's person and government. But this was not all. The administration conceived that it was now time to interpose further means of defence than the law had yet provided: and, accordingly, in the house of peers, lord Grenville in-

troduced a bill for the better security of his majesty's person and government; and in the house of commons, Mr. Pitt moved for a bill for the more effectual prevention of seditious meetings and assemblies. But, however united men of all parties were in their abhorrence of the personal outrage offered to his majesty, no bills, for perhaps a century past, occasioned warmer debates in parliament, nor more division of opinion throughout the nation in general. The addresses and petitions sent from the country generally contained an allusion to them, which, if we respect these petitions as an expression of the public mind, was certainly against them. Of this some judgment may be formed from the following statement. The amount of the petitions, approving the bills, was sixty-five, and of the signatures to these nearly thirty thousand. The amount of the petitions against the bills was ninety-four, and the signatures exceeded one hundred and thirty thousand. In parliament the subject was keenly argued again and again, but, after some modifications had been adopted, and Mr. Pitt's bill had been limited to three years, they passed into laws, by vast majorities. And notwithstanding the eagerness and strength of argument with which they had been opposed, and the public alarm which was raised, no material inconvenience to the great interests of freedom or the constitution were afterward felt or complained of; while the tumultuous societies, and the lectures and harangues of sedition and disloyalty, were effectually suppressed by them.

The session of parliament was not otherwise remarkable for its proceedings of a public nature. One hundred and ten thousand seamen, including marines, and two hundred and seven thousand landmen, were voted, and a loan negociated, first of eighteen millions, and afterward a second of seven millions and a half, for the service of the year. On the 8th of December, a royal message was delivered to parliament, stating that "the crisis that was depending at the commencement of the present session had led to such an order of things in France, as would induce his majesty, conformably to the sentiments which he had already declared, to meet any disposition to negociation on the

part of the enemy, with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect, and to conclude a treaty of general peace, whenever it could be effected on just and suitable terms for himself and his allies." This occasioned, as usual, a debate, in the course of which the opposition in vain endeavoured to pass an amendment, "altogether disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negociation, and praying that a treaty might be immediately entered upon." At the
1796. conclusion of the session, on the 19th of May, this parliament was dissolved.

The campaign of this year commenced in the beginning of June; the Austrian armies were now commanded by the archduke Charles, brother to the emperor, a young man of great military skill and bravery. The first engagement of importance was fought on the 9th of July, near the village of Ettingen, which terminated in favour of the French, commanded by generals Moreau and Jourdain, who were now enabled to penetrate into the heart of Germany, where they levied such contributions as made the Germans heartily repent of their delusion in supposing they came to give liberty to enslaved nations. In their progress, general Moreau entered Bavaria in triumph, and took possession of Munich on the 27th of August; but the van of general Jourdain's army was attacked on the 22d by the archduke, and compelled to retreat with great difficulty and loss, nor was his army in safety until, after various dangers, he arrived on the banks of the Lower Rhine. This defeat had a suitable effect on the army of Moreau, who, notwithstanding a decisive victory gained on the 3d of October, over the Austrian general Latour, when he took five thousand prisoners, was compelled to retreat to Fribourg, which he effected with uncommon skill through a march of nearly 300 miles, and continually harassed by the pursuing enemy. On the 25th of November, the archduke laid siege to the fortress of Kehl, which surrendered a few weeks after. Thus were the French driven from the Austrian territory by a young hero, who wanted nothing to ensure his continued success, but that enthusiasm

throughout the empire, which the French had unfortunately raised in their favour, by pretences of freedom and emancipation.

The French army in Italy was more successful. The plan of the campaign was formed by Carnot, who had been formerly war minister, and was executed by Napoleon Bonaparte, a young Corsican, who soon advanced to the highest military rank in the French service, and whose progress was marked by unparalleled success. Under his command, the Austrians were defeated at Montenotte and Millesimo, and the French arriving within two days' march of Turin, the king of Sardinia proposed a suspension of arms, which was soon followed by a definitive treaty with the French government. By this his majesty renounced all title to Savoy, Nice, and the adjacent country, which was immediately declared a department of the French republic, under the name of the Maritime Alps: the cities of Coni, Alessandria, and Tortola, were delivered provisionally into the hands of the French, and the fortresses of Suza and Brunetta, the barriers of the Sardinian dominions, were to be demolished at his majesty's expense. In consequence of Bonaparte's invasion of the territories of the dukes of Parma and Modena, they also were compelled to ask for peace, which was granted on their paying ten millions of livres.

The greatest action fought in this quarter was at Lodi, from which place the Austrians had retreated, but without destroying the bridge, which was defended by a formidable artillery, and appeared to the greater part of the French generals to be impregnable. Bonaparte, however, determined to make the attempt, and succeeded beyond all expectation. He acknowledged that of all the actions in which he had been engaged, none equalled the passage of the bridge of Lodi. One part of his army now began the siege of Mantua, while another entered Milan. A detachment also took possession of Leghorn, Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. This obliged the pope and the king of Naples to propose an armistice. Of the king of Naples, it was only required that he should withdraw from the alliance against France. But the pope was not only compelled

formally to yield the towns in possession of France, but also the city and fortress of Ancona on the Adriatic; to pay the sum of twenty-one millions of francs, and to deliver one hundred pictures, busts, &c., (at the option of the commissioners to be sent to Rome,) which were to be conveyed to the national museum of France, a collection which owed its splendour to this method of plunder.

This treaty, however, did not last long: for, upon general Wurmser having reinforced the imperial army, and compelled the French to raise the siege of Mantua, the pope sent his vice-legate to take possession of Ferrara, which was evacuated by the French. But the Austrians were doomed to another reverse of fortune, at the battle of Castiglione, fought on the 5th of August, with the greatest obstinacy, in which they were defeated by Bonaparte, and Mantua was again besieged by the French. The treachery of several brigades of Polish troops, who served in the imperial army, and now went over to the French, was the principal cause of this defeat. After being attacked twice, in which he suffered prodigious loss, general Wurmser was fortunate enough to gain the city of Mantua, into which he retired with the remains of his army.

Treaties were now signed between the French republic and Genoa, Naples, and Parma; and proposals were made to the pope, by which he was required to set at liberty all persons confined for political opinions; to abolish the inquisition; to renounce Avignon and the Venaissin; to pay 300,000 livres *per* month during the war; to leave Ferrara and Bologna to the disposal of the French, with certain commercial concessions. All these, however, his holiness refused, as subversive of the rights of religion and sovereignty. In the mean time, a convention was held of the conquered states, and Bologna, Reggio, Modena, and Ferrara, were united by the title of the Cispadane republic.

In the mean time, another imperial army, under the command of field-marshal Alvinzi, was defeated at the village of Arcola by Bonaparte, and compelled to leave Mantua to its fate, which, however, was still bravely defended by general Wurmser. The pope, who had

refused a proposition for peace offered by Bonaparte, now began to raise extraordinary levies, and his army was reinforced by some German troops; but throughout the ecclesiastical states the same spirit of insubordination and attachment to the French cause prevailed, and, as we shall soon see, his efforts were totally unavailing.

The naval transactions of this year were not very important, as the enemy took every means to avoid risking engagements with the English. A French squadron under admiral de Richery reached Newfoundland, and destroyed a considerable quantity of British property; but the Dutch squadron, fitted out to re-capture the Cape of Good Hope, being attacked by admiral Elphinstone, at Saldanha Bay, the sailors declared themselves in the interest of the prince of Orange, and insisted on their officers surrendering the ships, seven sail of different rates, to the English, which was complied with. The Dutch settlements in the East-Indies were also this year taken by the English: the island of St. Lucia was recovered by general Abercrombie, and the insurrections in the islands of Grenada and St. Vincent, excited by the French commander Hugues, were finally quelled. The English, however, at St. Domingo made little progress, while their troops were destroyed in great numbers by the yellow fever, a pestilential disorder which had of late years appeared in America and the West-India islands. Corsica, likewise, was abandoned by the English viceroy, the inhabitants having again returned to their allegiance to the French.

Toward the end of the year, the French made an attempt to invade Ireland, where they hoped to have profited by the discontents among the lower classes, and particularly the Roman catholics. Their fleet for this expedition consisted of eighteen sail of the line and thirteen frigates, with transports containing twenty-five thousand troops, under the command of general Hoche. This fleet was, however, dispersed by a storm, although part of it cast anchor at Bantry Bay, where, after waiting for the arrival of general Hoche, it again set sail, and returned to Brest. The people of Ireland

on this occasion discovered a disposition favourable to government, and prepared to repel the invaders in a manner which excited the praises of the lord-lieutenant (earl Camden) in his dispatches to the secretary of state.

Of the affairs of France, which were still conducted by contending parties, whose proceedings it would be impossible to detail in these letters, the most remarkable transaction of the year was a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the crown of Spain. The consequence of this was a declaration of war by the Spanish court against Great Britain, on the most frivolous pretences, and evidently dictated by the French government.

The notice in his majesty's message relative to the probability of such an order of things as might lead to peace, was not merely formal. In the beginning of March, an attempt was made to sound the inclinations of the French government by Mr. Wickham, the British ambassador to the Helvetic states; but this not being effectual, some months after, a more direct application was made by the ministry, in consequence of which lord Malmesbury was sent to Paris, as plenipotentiary to the French republic. On the 24th of October, he presented a memorial to the French government, in which it was stated, "that, in the opinion of his Britannic majesty, the principle of compensation would best serve as a basis for the definitive arrangements of peace. Great Britain, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, finds herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France, from which, on the contrary, she has taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable. But, on the other hand, France has made, on the continent of Europe, conquests to which his majesty cannot be indifferent, as the most important interests of his people, and the most sacred engagements of his crown, are essentially implicated therein. The magnanimity of the king, his inviolable good faith, and his desire to restore repose to so many nations, induced him to consider this situation of affairs as affording the means of pro-

curing, for all the belligerent powers, just and equitable terms of peace, and such as are calculated to insure for the time to come the general tranquillity. It is on this footing, then, that he proposes to negociate, by offering to make compensation to France, by proportionable restitutions, for those arrangements to which she will be called upon to consent, in order to satisfy the just demand of the king's allies, and to preserve the political balance of Europe."

Had the French been disposed to give peace to Europe, the present opportunity was exceedingly favourable: their conquests on the continent were important, and balanced their losses on the sea and abroad; but already they had conceived the gigantic project of subjugating Europe, and were intoxicated with their success. They required, therefore, that lord Malmesbury should produce powers from the allies of Great Britain to negociate for them; and when, after much debate, he proposed that France should restore all her conquests in the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy, and Great Britain her acquisitions gained in the East and West Indies, the negociation ended by the refusal of the French to restore those territories which had been made, that is, which they had made integral parts of the French republic, and lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within forty-eight hours. When the papers relative to this negociation were laid before parliament, the conduct of the ministry was approved by a prodigious majority; but the opposition contended that they were not sincere in their endeavours to procure peace; and, at no very distant period, this was almost admitted.

LETTER XCI.

TOWARD the close of the year there appeared on the part of the French government an intention to attempt a descent on this country; and ministers were so fully persuaded of the probability of such a measure, that it became necessary to raise an extraordinary force for the internal security of the kingdom:

additional levies were therefore ordered both for the sea and land service, particularly a supplementary militia: about the same time the gentlemen in various parts of the country began to form themselves into bodies of volunteer infantry and cavalry; and, as this patriotic and constitutional measure was sanctioned by government, it soon became general, and in London and its environs only, about twelve thousand were thus embodied, taught the military exercise, and soon performed their evolutions with considerable skill and correctness. In the beginning of December, Mr. Pitt stated that a loan of eighteen millions would be wanted, exclusive of five millions and a half of exchequer bills, and about thirteen millions and a half of navy bills, which he proposed to fund. He allowed that he had advanced to the emperor of Germany several sums, amounting to one million two hundred thousand pounds, and proposed a vote of three millions to enable ministers to assist our allies.

A singular species of invasion was indeed attempted
1797. in the month of February. Two French frigates, a corvette, and a lugger, sailed toward the Bristol channel, and after fruitlessly endeavouring to destroy the shipping in the harbour of Ilfracomb, arrived on the coast of South-Wales. About thirteen hundred men landed on the northern part of Pembrokeshire, and then were left by their shipping, and soon surrendered to a party of militia under the command of lord Cawdor. The men appeared to be vagrants and convicts of various descriptions, whom their government wished to get rid of by sending them on this absurd expedition.

But while this insult rather amused than alarmed the public mind, an event occurred which at first appeared of the most serious kind, especially when expressed in the short and intelligible, but certainly unjust language that "the Bank of England had stopped payment." The fact appeared, however, to be, that the frequent exportation of bullion and cash, in foreign loans and subsidies, and the custom of hoarding, which some timorous persons practised, had in a great measure exhausted the specie in the Bank. This

produced a resolution of the privy council, prohibiting the directors from issuing any cash, till the sense of the legislature should be taken with regard to the extraordinary situation of affairs. A committee was accordingly appointed by both houses, whose report stated, that on the 25th of February, the outstanding engagements of the Bank amounted to 13,770,390*l.*; and that its funds were 17,597,280*l.*, exclusive of a debt from government, exceeding eleven millions. The prohibition of the issues in specie was ordered to be continued until the 24th of June, and afterward the same prohibition was extended from year to year; while, in the mean time, the issues of two and one pound notes supplied the public in the place of cash; and the principal merchants having united in a resolution to respect Bank paper as cash, the alarm very soon subsided, and public credit was completely restored.

The minds of the people were indeed diverted from this object by the news of one of the most brilliant naval victories of this or any former war, achieved by sir John Jervis over the Spanish fleet. This gallant admiral had been cruizing for some time in expectation of meeting with that fleet, and at length discovered it at the distance of only four leagues from Cape St. Vincent. To his surprise, however, it consisted of twenty-five sail of the line, while he had only fifteen. In spite of this decided inferiority, he resolved to put the character of an English navy to the fullest proof; and, having arranged his ships in the most complete order, sailed with such expedition, that he reached the Spanish fleet before it was disposed in due regularity. At this critical moment, with full confidence in his men, he passed through the enemy's fleet, in a line rapidly formed; and, by tacking, separated one third of it from the main body. After an engagement, which lasted five hours, he defeated them, and captured four ships, two of 112 guns, one of 84, and one of 74. He then discovered that their whole fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line. Of the English about three hundred men were killed or wounded, and of the enemy upward of six hundred.

The Spanish fleet made, in great confusion, for the harbour of Cadiz. The honours of the peerage were deservedly bestowed on this occasion on the brave admiral, by the title of lord St. Vincent.

The attention of parliament, however, was very soon directed to a dangerous mutiny among the sailors on board of the channel fleet, and which was quelled not without much difficulty: but the fair claims of the sailors were admitted, and their grievances redressed. The other subjects brought forward in this session were repeated motions for censure or dismission of the ministry, all which were negatived either without a division, or by vast majorities; and the first session of this parliament concluded on the 20th of July, with a speech in which his majesty intimated that he was again engaged in a negociation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions. A letter, accordingly, was sent from lord Grenville, secretary of state, to M. de la Croix, the French minister, proposing a treaty; and a favourable answer having been received, the scene was fixed at Lisle. Lord Malmesbury was again appointed on the part of Great Britain, and Letourneur on that of the French government. The demands of the French on this occasion were such as demonstrated very little inclination to peace: these were, restitution of the ships taken at Toulon, the cession of the principal settlements taken from the Dutch, and the surrender of Gibraltar to the Spaniards. The treaty notwithstanding might have been successful, if another of those revolutions of government had not taken place at Paris, which have so long marked the anarchical state of that country, in consequence of which a kind of triumvirate took upon them the management of public affairs, and after two months' negociation, lord Malmesbury was ordered to leave the country. When this attempt to procure peace came afterward to be discussed in parliament, men of all parties seemed to agree that its failure was to be attributed to the enemy.

The mutiny among the seamen, however happily appeased, had an unfortunate effect on the minds of the misguided crews of the fleet lying at the Nore, who broke out in a rebellion of a more serious appearance, and for some time kept the metropolis in an unusual state of alarm. The sailors, beside choosing delegates from every ship, put themselves under the temporary command of a man named Parker, who issued his orders with all the pomp of usurpation and ignorance. The plan, however, was miserably concerted, and the seamen began gradually to return to their duty, and gave up the ringleaders, who were tried and executed.

The character of the navy, in respect to loyalty, was soon restored by this very fleet which had excited so much alarm. The Dutch navy had long been blocked up in the Texel by admiral Duncan; but when this commander had retired for the purpose of refitting, they took that opportunity of sailing. The English admiral, hearing of this, hastily advanced with his fleet, consisting of fourteen sail of the line, and two ships of fifty guns, against De Winter, the Dutch admiral, who had fifteen sail of the line. The engagement took place on the 11th of October, near that part of the coast on which stands the village of Camperdown. It was the aim of admiral Duncan to break the enemy's line, and he, by this manœuvre, prevented the retreat of De Winter, who engaged with great bravery, while admiral Story, who commanded the centre, retired with the greater part of his division, and regained the Texel in great safety. The engagement was desperate on both sides; but at length De Winter, finding his ship so injured as to be indefensible, struck his flag to Duncan. In the whole, nine sail of the line and two frigates were taken on this memorable occasion. On board the British ships above seven hundred and fifty were killed or wounded; the loss of the vanquished was far more considerable. The gallant Duncan was created a viscount, and great and universal rejoicings were made in every part of the kingdom for this glorious victory. Two such victories in one year called aloud for an expression of

national piety and gratitude, and accordingly a day of public thanksgiving was appointed to be held on December 19, on which day his majesty, the royal family, and the houses of lords and commons, went to St. Paul's in grand procession, preceded by the flags and colours taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, which were placed in the church as trophies.

From this pleasing testimony of public gratitude, and from these irrefragable proofs of national valour, we must now turn to the less prosperous events of the war on the continent. Notwithstanding their repeated losses, the imperial armies in Italy were very speedily reinforced, and general Alvinzi was able to take the field early in the month of January, when he passed the Brenta, advanced to the Adige, and, having carried the important post of Corona, obliged the French to fall back. It was then that Bonaparte, who had been at Bologna, resumed the command of the army, and gave battle to the Imperialists, upon the heights of Rivoli, on the 14th of January, who, upon the whole, had the advantage; but the engagement being renewed next day, they were defeated with considerable loss: and about the same time general Provera, who had attempted, with ten thousand men, to relieve Mantua, was surrounded on all sides by immense bodies of French troops, and compelled to surrender at discretion. This brought on the capitulation of Mantua, the garrison of which was reduced to the utmost extremity, on honourable terms. After the battle of Rivoli, the remains of the Austrian army repassed the Adige, and a part of them retreated through Roveredo to Trent. The French boasted, that in this short space from the commencement of the campaign, they had taken twenty-five thousand prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon.

Nor were they less successful against the ecclesiastical states. The pope had made great preparations, but the defeat of general Alvinzi rendered these of little use. On the 1st of February, general Bonaparte published a manifesto, censuring the pope for a violation of the armistice, and for refusing the pacific offers of the republic, and concluded with denouncing ven-

geance against those who should oppose the march of the French troops. This was speedily executed: next day general Victor attacked and defeated the papal army on the banks of the Senio; and Bonaparte, advancing to the gates of Faenza, and finding them shut, took the place by assault. This rendered the case of the other places hopeless, and in a few days the Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the whole marche of Ancona, submitted. A party of the French also took possession of Loretto, where, however, they found only the scanty remains of the vast treasures said to be deposited in that city. The republican army then proceeded to Tolentino, within a few days' march of Rome, and at this critical moment the pope sent two ecclesiastics and two seculars to Bonaparte, to sue for peace, which was granted on the following terms: The pope consented to withdraw from the alliance against France; to suffer no ships of war or privateers belonging to the enemy to enter his ports; to renounce all right to Avignon and the Venaissin, and also to the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and the Romagna; and the French to possess all the immunities of the most favoured nation. He also agreed to pay thirty millions of livres as the price of peace, within two months; and all the manuscripts, pictures, and statues, formerly stipulated for at the armistice, to be immediately delivered: likewise he was to set at liberty all persons confined in Rome on account of their political opinions; and the city and citadel of Ancona were to remain in possession of the French till a general peace. On signing these hard articles, general Bonaparte wrote a letter to the pope, assuring him of the esteem and veneration he had for his person; and hoping that the French republic would approve itself one of the truest friends of Rome. The nature of that friendship will be illustrated hereafter.

In the northern parts of Italy, the Austrians were again enabled to take the field in considerable force, under the command of archduke Charles. After various manœuvres, general Bonaparte ventured in the face of the Austrian army to pass the Tagliamento, the bulwark, on this side, of the Austrian dominions;

and the archduke was compelled to retreat toward the Venetian territory, leaving part of his artillery, and the towns of Palma Nuova, Udine, and the adjacent country, at the mercy of the enemy. The main body of the French soon after entered the Austrian Friuli, and the garrison of Gradisca having surrendered; Triest, the chief town of Carniola, and the whole province of Istria bordering on the Adriatic, were added to the republican conquests. The archduke now removed to Clagenfurth, in Carinthia, to which Bonaparte and Massena followed in different directions. Massena, in his progress, defeated a division of the Austrians near Tarwis; and Joubert joined these two generals at Clagenfurth, whence the archduke made a further retreat. The republicans, being now in possession of a vast extent of Austrian territory, with that show of moderation which they knew how to put on, proposed peace to the archduke. The letter was written by Bonaparte, and concludes with words which can scarcely be deemed characteristic: "Do not imagine, gallant general, that I wish to insinuate that you cannot save your country by force of arms; but with respect to myself, if the overture which I have now the honor to make to you could be the means of sparing the life of a single man, I should prize more highly the civic crown to which my interference would entitle me, than the melancholy glory which would result from the most brilliant military exploits." The archduke, in his reply, stated, that "he neither conceived it his part to enter into any discussion of the principles upon which the war was carried on, nor was he furnished by the emperor with any powers to conclude a treaty of peace."

The French armies continued now to advance, and were within one hundred and twenty miles of Vienna, when cooler reflection induced the commander-in-chief to accept a proposition for the suspension of arms. Bonaparte began to experience that he was at this time in the heart of an enemy's country; the Austrians were recruiting their armies with an expedition which was not expected; and his proclamations of liberty began to be better understood, and consequently lost much of

their effect. The preliminaries were therefore signed April 18, at Leoben in Stiria, and the definitive treaty at Campo Formio, October 17. This treaty stipulated, that the emperor should make a complete renunciation of the Netherlands, or Belgic provinces, in favour of the French republic; that he should consent to the cession of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and other islands in the Levant, lately belonging to the republic of Venice, as well as of the Venetian establishments in Albania, to the French; that he should be allowed to possess in full sovereignty the provinces of Istria and Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the city of Venice, and the territories situate between his hereditary states, the Adriatic sea, and a line intended to be drawn from the Tyrol, to cross the lake Garda to Lacissa, thence to proceed to Sangiacomo, then along the river Adige, the canal Bianco, the Tartaro, the canal called the Polifella, and the great Po to the Adriatic; that he should acknowledge the Cisalpine republic as an independent state; that he should not admit into any of his ports, before the peace should be general, above six armed vessels belonging to any one of the belligerent powers; and that he should cede the Brisgaw to the duke of Modena. With respect to mortgages subsisting upon any of the ceded territories, it was stipulated, that those who would now be masters of them should discharge all encumbrances of that kind. It was also promised, that a treaty of commerce should be speedily adjusted, by which the contracting parties should mutually secure such advantages as were granted to the most favoured nations.

Upon the whole, this treaty was not unfavourable to the emperor; but some articles of it require now to be explained, by adverting to the state of Venice. During the negociation for the preliminary articles at Leoben, by which the emperor only ceded the Austrian Netherlands, allowed the free navigation of the Rhine, and recognised the independence of the newly-erected Italian republics, Bonaparte sent a manifesto to the doge and senate of Venice, demanding satisfaction for their hostility to France, of which he alleged various undeniable instances, which took place while there was

a probability of the French invaders being expelled. The doge, not knowing of the negociation between the emperor and the French, returned an evasive answer, and this brought on a declaration of war on the part of the French, which was soon concluded. On the 12th of May, they entered Venice without meeting with any resistance, abolished the senate and council of ten, and appointed a provisional administration, and a municipality of fifty members, chosen under the control of six commissioners nominated by the French general. With Venice, the French got possession of the shipping, arsenals, and military stores, and the Venetian islands in the Adriatic and Archipelago, with her provinces in Dalmatia and Istria. This will account for those articles in the treaty of Campo Formio, which respect the Venetian territories ceded by the French to the emperor, who thus joined the republicans in their plunder of an independent state. After the fall of Venice, that of Genoa speedily followed, owing to a democratic party within itself, which assisted the enemy from without: a government was accordingly formed according to the French model, and under the influence of the French general, by the name of the Ligurian republic; and about the same time the Cispadane and Transpadane governments were united by the name of the Cisalpine republic, which also adopted the French model of the day. It remains to be mentioned, that previous to signing the preliminaries, the republican army under Moreau defeated the Austrians on the banks of the Lahtz, and regained the fortress of Kehl.

The treaty of Campo Formio having been concluded with the emperor only, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the whole empire with the French republic was referred to a congress to be held at Rastadt, in which Treihard and Bonnier were appointed to represent the French republic, and which was to commence its deliberations Jan. 1, 1798. In the mean time Bonaparte returned to Paris, and immediately a proclamation was addressed to the armies, in which it was said, that " although so much had been done, so many kings conquered, so many people set

free, and the republic itself established by the valour of its arms, yet the country expected one more sacrifice; since the enemy, who had been the original cause of all the horrors and miseries which they had suffered, both from foreign and civil war, remained yet to be crushed; and that the safety of the republic was endangered while the English government existed." This curious declaration was followed by a resolution, that Bonaparte should be appointed to command an army, to be called the army of England, for the purpose of invading that country; and the probability of the scheme was mentioned by the French legislators in terms of the most extravagant ignorance and vanity. The "army of England," however, was in reality destined for a different purpose, and to be finally conquered, in a far distant land, by the soldiers of that very nation it was intended to overthrow.

Before I close this letter, it will be necessary to remind you, that, by the treaty of Campo Formio, the grand alliance against the French republic was completely broken; and England was left alone to combat with an enemy which had, by force or fear, withdrawn Prussia, Germany, Spain, Holland, the lesser German states, and the Italian states. The king of Sardinia, indeed, was left in the possession of Piedmont, but on condition of his adhering to an alliance offensive and defensive with France; and Portugal, which had entered into a treaty, which proved ineffectual, was a power on which little dependence could be placed.

LETTER XCII.

WHEN the papers relative to the negociation at Lisle were laid before parliament, on the 10th of November, the conduct of administration in that affair was unanimously approved: from the papers themselves, indeed, there was evidently less cause for difference of opinion than when the negociation at Paris was debated; but what secured the present unanimity was the secession from parliamentary duty of the prin-

cipal members of the opposition. After some time a few returned, and took their usual share in the debates; but Mr. Fox persisted for a very considerable time in absenting from his place, although he occasionally took his seat, when any measure was agitated which particularly affected his constituents.

In providing for the supplies of 1798, Mr. Pitt encountered many difficulties. The whole expense of the year he stated at twenty-five millions and a half, and he brought forward a new system of finance to answer this demand, in part. Seven millions he proposed to raise within the year by tripling the assessed taxes: this was much opposed, as burdensome and oppressive on a very numerous class of housekeepers; and although it was carried by a great majority, on the 4th of January, no less than seventy-one members voted against it, the minority being thus obviously strengthened by many who usually voted with the minister. Beside the other supplies, one of a novel kind was introduced, which was a voluntary national subscription, by which above a million and a half was raised for the defence of the country, now menaced by an invasion. At the same time measures were adopted to increase the navy and army; and the volunteer associations, already mentioned, became general throughout the country.

1798.

The chief danger appeared in the state of Ireland. The discontents in that country had been artfully fomented by a party of men of the better class, whose object was, under pretence of reformation of parliament, &c., to separate that country from its connection with Great Britain, and place it under the government of France. This was to be effected by the famous society of United Irishmen, which was formed in 1791, and whose objects were avowedly to abolish all legal tests and subscriptions, to emancipate the catholics, and to produce a radical reform in parliament. Whether these objects, in the present state of things, could have been effected without overturning the whole system of government, is a question scarcely worthy of an answer; because it afterward clearly appeared that the chief conspirators had other views, for which

the above measures were a covering. So early as 1794, their designs transpired in the trial of one Jackson, a clergyman, for high treason, who was fully convicted, but poisoned himself the day he was to receive sentence; and on this, Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the society of United Irishmen, Hamilton, Rowan, and some other members of that association, fled the country; thus amply confirming the suspicions and jealousy of government.

In 1795, earl Fitzwilliam went over as viceroy, and with powers to relieve the Roman catholics from certain disabilities: it appeared immediately after, however, that the present was not the proper time to grant these, and his lordship was recalled. Much has been said as to the probable good effects of his powers, had they been permitted to act; but, from what appeared soon afterward, it is more doubtful if any concessions would have broken the conspiracy, which was now become more serious. The united Irish were joined by some men of consequence, by Arthur O'Connor, Dr. M'Nevin, chairman of the catholic committee, and Oliver Bond, an opulent merchant of Dublin. A writer, who takes much pains to soften the delinquency of these men, is compelled to allow that at this period, though parliamentary reform, catholic emancipation, and the abolition of tithes, were still the professed objects, they appeared to address themselves much more to the passions than to the judgments of the people at large; and to exert unwearied pains to diffuse opinions calculated to re-kindle in all its ancient fury the immortal hatred between the catholic and protestant sects, representing to the former the dreadful injuries inflicted upon their ancestors by the latter, of which the catholics yet felt the grievous effects; and it has been upon high authority affirmed, that, in the province of Leinster, the common people, at first averse to the measures proposed to them, were terrified into an active concurrence, in consequence of being assured by the emissaries of treason, that it was necessary in their own defence, as their protestant fellow-subjects had entered into a solemn league and covenant to destroy them, having sworn to wade up to their knees in popish blood.

At the latter end of the same year, a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the United Irishmen and the French directory; in consequence of which, in 1796, the French government promised that an army should be sent to Ireland. The proceedings of this army were adjusted in Swisserland, between lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor, who took upon them the title of members of the Irish directory, and general Hoche, who was to conduct the expedition, the fate of which we have already recorded. But this disappointment only cemented their connection with France: one Lewins was appointed resident minister of the Irish *Republic* at Paris; and, in the summer of 1797, Dr. M'Nevin, another member of the Irish directory, was deputed to Paris, to concert another invasion; and two armaments, one from France and one from Holland, were destined to sail at the same time; but the defeat of the Dutch fleet by lord Duncan rendered this plan abortive. The fact was, that the French wished to subdue Ireland for themselves, while the conspirators dreaded this overthrow of their personal hopes, and wished the French merely to assist them with ten thousand men and forty thousand stand of arms; but the French pretended that not less than fifty thousand men would be necessary to secure the *liberty* and *independence* of the country.

In the mean time, the leaders of the united Irishmen continued to train their society to the use of arms, and to form them into such a regular body, that the rebellion, which was now determined on, should break out in all parts at once, and overwhelm the power of government. Early in 1798, an event occurred, which threw some light on their proceedings: Arthur O'Connor, one of the Irish directory, had arrived in London with the view of going to France with one Binns, a member of the London corresponding society, (whose proceedings were the subject of the state trials in 1794,) James O'Coigley, an Irish priest, and two other persons. During the stay of these in London, they consulted with the leaders of the disaffected societies, and entered into their most desperate designs; in consequence of which an attempt was made to erect a so-

ciety of united Englishmen. But their motions having been discovered, this group of traitors were taken into custody at Margate, while bargaining for a passage to France. Upon O'Coigley was found a paper styled "An address from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France," in which their treasonable designs were clearly divulged. O'Coigley was convicted and executed; but O'Connor and his companions were acquitted.

So many proofs, or at least intimations, of imminent danger increased the watchfulness of the Irish government; and, in the month of March 1798, when the rebellion was ready to burst forth, the whole was discovered by means of two persons, who had insinuated themselves into the confidence of the traitors for this purpose. The ringleaders in Dublin were immediately apprehended: lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had concealed himself for some time, received so many wounds in attempting to escape, that he died in a few days. The remainder of the conspirators, however, made a second attempt to raise their forces, and projected to seize the camp at Loughlinstown, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, on one night, May 23d. But this also was defeated, by the accuracy of information conveyed to government; and Henry and John Sheares, barristers, with another set of ringleaders, were apprehended, and every precaution taken to secure the city and county of Dublin. In consequence, however, of the plot, insurrections took place on the day appointed in other parts of the kingdom; but the rebels were defeated at Naas, at Kilcullen, and at Rathfarnham. On the 26th, a large division of their force was defeated at Tallagh-hill; and about the same time they were repulsed in two attacks on the towns of Carlow and Kildare. In the county of Wexford they were more successful: on the 28th, they carried the town of Inniscorthy, sword in hand, and, on the 30th, that of Wexford, where they exercised horrid cruelties upon the protestants. Here they released three of their society, who had been imprisoned on charges of high treason, and appointed one of them, Beauchamp Bagnal Harvey, to be commander

in chief of the rebel army. Under his command, on June 5, they attacked New Ross, but were repulsed by the king's troops, greatly inferior in number; and in revenge for this disappointment, they put to death a great number of the loyalists in Wexford and Inniscorthy, in the most savage and barbarous manner.

On the 9th of June, they attacked Arklow, but with little success. General Lake was now advancing with large reinforcements, and attacked their main body, consisting of nearly twenty thousand men, within a mile of Inniscorthy, upon an eminence called Vinegar-hill, on the 21st of June. After a severe engagement, the rebels fled with precipitation, and being closely pursued, sustained immense loss, while that of the king's troops was comparatively trifling. Wexford was evacuated next day; and general Lake's dispatches contain the horrible circumstances, that eighty-six persons had been murdered by the rebels the preceding day, military music attending and playing a dead march, while the bodies of the sufferers, pierced with pikes, (a weapon which the rebels employed in imitation of the French,) were thrown over the bridge. Other cruelties were also committed on the protestants of that vicinity; and it is said that a barn was set on fire by the rebels, where a considerable number of their prisoners, including women and children, were confined, and all perished amid shouts of savage exultation. Murphy, a wretch who had caused this cruelty, was soon after taken and executed; as was Harvey, the rebel general, who, it is said, had affected to express a disapprobation of the enormities practised by his army. It was impossible, however, to inspire the ignorant and brutal followers of such leaders with the sentiments of common humanity: and as they had previously stirred them up to rebellion, by poisoning their minds, and exciting a hatred against the government and the king's troops, it was rather singular they should expect any other consequences than what followed.

The rebellion in the north was quelled with less difficulty, although it was very general throughout the counties of Down and Antrim. The town of Antrim was for a short time in the possession of the rebels;

but they were driven out of it, after a sharp engagement, on the 7th of June; and, on the 12th, their principal force, exceeding seven thousand men, was totally defeated at Ballynahinch, and soon after tranquillity was restored. One reason why the rebels appeared in fewer numbers and less strength in the province of Ulster, is said to have been, that the cruelties exercised by the great body of the rebels in Leinster on the protestants, alarmed the dissenters, who had joined the insurgents in the north, and occasioned their withdrawing from a conspiracy, which they already perceived would, in its success, be attended with their destruction.

About the close of the rebellion it appeared necessary to the British government to place Ireland under the government of a lord-lieutenant of military talents; and the choice, with the greatest propriety, fell upon marquis Cornwallis, who arrived at Dublin on the 20th of June, and, by a series of temperate yet firm measures, suppressed the remainder of the rebellious spirit, and opened the way to a general conciliation. Some of the most notorious of the rebel chiefs were, however, tried and executed; among which were the two Shears (brothers), M'Can, and O'Byrne; Bond was likewise condemned, but afterward pardoned. Mercy was also extended to O'Conner, Emmet, M'Nevin, and the other state prisoners, on their making a full confession of the whole conspiracy; which they did in such a manner as to prove how miserably the peasantry of Ireland had been deluded by them, and that nothing was further from their original purposes, than any political or religious reform, consistent with the constitution of the country.

It appeared, by the confession of those unprincipled men, which was afterward laid before parliament, that the rebellion originated in a system, framed, not with a view of obtaining either catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic, founded on the destruction of all church establishment, the abolition of

all ranks, and the confiscation of property. The means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematised combination, fitted to attract the multitude by being adapted to vulgar prejudices and vicious passions, and artfully linked and connected together with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving in one body at the impulse of their leaders. The whole foundation and superstructure, indeed, was destitute of political and moral principle, and bore no resemblance to any event of the kind in the history of these kingdoms.

During the whole of this rebellion, you perceive that no assistance came from France, although the French directory had engaged that an armament should sail at the latter end of April, or early in the month of May. But when tranquillity was apparently restored, this ally, on the 22d of August, landed in the bay of Killala a body of troops, who took possession of the bishop's palace, as their head-quarters, and were soon joined by several thousands of the Irish catholic peasantry. From hence a party of eleven hundred, with the peasantry whom they had clothed and armed, marched to Castlebar, the chief town of the county of Mayo: and, on the 27th, the French general, Humbert, attacked the English troops by surprise, and obliged them to retreat with considerable loss: by this means they gained possession of Castlebar, and were again reinforced by the disaffected. Lord Cornwallis, however, determined to put an end to this new insurrection, by taking the field in person; and, moving toward the French and rebels, compelled them to retreat. Humbert, who saw his danger, retreated in such a manner as afforded the natives an opportunity to escape; and on the 8th of September, after a short resistance, his army laid down their arms, and surrendered at discretion. His whole force, it then appeared, did not amount to a thousand men; but even this, with the assistance of the peasantry, and the arms and ammunition he furnished, might have protracted the rebellion, had not the vigorous measures adopted by the lord-lieutenant entirely disap-

pointed his hopes. In October, the French sent another armament, consisting of one ship of the line and eight frigates, which were descried by sir John Borlase Warren off the coast of Ulster, who captured the ship of the line and six of the frigates. On board of this fleet was taken Theobald Wolfe Tone, the founder of the society of united Irishmen, who was brought to Dublin, tried and condemned, but anticipated his public execution by suicide.

The affairs of the continent during this year still continued to evince the predominant and disorganizing power of France. At Rome, an insurrection, which happened not altogether by accident, was improved by the French troops into an opportunity of revolutionizing the ecclesiastical state, and entirely overturning the papal authority: a provisional government was substituted, under the name of a consulate, consisting of six members. The aged pope was compelled to leave Rome, and found a temporary asylum in a convent in Florence; in the mean time, the new governors of the state pillaged the city of Rome in the most barbarous manner, while the stupified populace looked on, and wondered at this new species of liberty and independence. About the same time, under the most frivolous pretences, the French troops attacked the Swiss territories, and compelled that brave and free people to accept a constitution on the French model, Lucerne being fixed upon as the seat of government. Geneva was also added to the French republic, under the name of the department of the Lake of Leman; and, about the same time, the French party in Holland established a form of government in imitation of the directorial, to which the people submitted with their usual apathy, and without a suspicion of the miserable state of subjection to which it would soon reduce them.

But the most important event of the war, which relates to our own country, remains yet to be considered. The apprehensions of an invasion disappeared in the course of the summer, notwithstanding the threats of the enemy, and their appointing a powerful army, which, from its destination, was called the army of England. At first it was supposed that this army was to

be commanded by Bonaparte, and reports of that tendency were artfully kept up to veil the real design, which appears to have originated with that general, and which had for its object the possession of Egypt, as a passage to the East-Indies, where he might achieve the conquest of the British settlements in that quarter. The directory acquiesced in his views: the object was grand and imposing; but what made them listen to it the more willingly was, that they should thereby be freed from a dangerous rival in popularity, and from an army to which they were in arrears, and which seemed devoted to its successful commander.

At length, on the 20th of May, Bonaparte sailed from Toulon, with fifteen sail of the line, and frigates, commanded by admiral Brueys, accompanied by more than two hundred transports, on board of which were troops. On the 9th of June, this fleet appeared off the island of Malta, which surrendered with scarcely any resistance. Here they left a garrison of four thousand men; and, having been joined by transports from Civita Vecchia, with above forty thousand troops, selected from the veteran armies which had fought under Bonaparte in his Italian campaigns, continued their voyage. Their course being now known, they were pursued by admiral Nelson, with nearly an equal force. In the mean time, on the 1st of July, the French admiral cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, and Bonaparte immediately landed his troops, and on the 8th took the city of Alexandria by assault, with an immense slaughter of the Arabs and Mamelouks. Their march from this place was attended with unexpected difficulties, which they partly surmounted by gaining possession of Rosetta, which they garrisoned; and, after a battle near Grand Cairo, when the Mamelouk army were again defeated, and which was termed the battle of the pyramids, as being fought near those celebrated monuments, Bonaparte entered Grand Cairo in triumph, and thus had Lower Egypt completely in his possession. But while he was thus overruning a helpless country, and indulging in the gigantic scheme of penetrating to the British dominions in

the east, an event occurred which baffled all his schemes, and, in its consequences, gave a new turn to the affairs of Europe.

It has been just mentioned that admiral Nelson went in pursuit of the French fleet; but until the 1st of August he had not an opportunity of meeting with it. Plans of attack, in various circumstances, he had already adjusted in the course of his voyage; and he had taken the precaution of giving ample instructions to all the captains under his command, and of explaining his ideas in so satisfactory a manner, that it was scarcely necessary to have recourse to signals during the action. The French fleet was at anchor in the bay of Aboukir, consisting of admiral Brueys' ship of 120 guns, and above a thousand men, three of 80 guns, and nine of 74. They were drawn up near the shore in a strong and compact line of battle, flanked by four frigates and many gun-boats, and protected in the van by a battery placed on a small island. No situation could be better calculated for defence: but this did not influence the English admiral, who was determined to make the attempt to break their line, and cut off a part of their fleet, in which he succeeded with infinite judgment and gallantry. The engagement commenced at sun-set, and both parties fought with great spirit. During the engagement admiral Brueys was killed: when the action had continued for two hours, two of the French ships were captured; a third struck soon after; and the whole van was in the power of the English, who eagerly proceeded to complete their victory. The L'Orient, the particular ship of the French commander, in the mean time blew up with a dreadful explosion, and but few of the crew escaped. The engagement continued at intervals until day-break; and only two of the French ships of the line, and two frigates escaped. Nine sail of the line were taken by the brave Nelson. The loss of the French on this occasion was very great, but never has been accurately stated. In the British fleet, sixteen officers, among whom was the gallant captain Westcott, and 200 seamen and marines, were killed, and 677 wounded. Admiral Nelson received a dangerous wound in the head;

which disabled him from the command during the latter part of the battle; but his first captain, Berry, gave proof of the same zeal and courage. The English admiral, after leaving a squadron to block up the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta, sailed to Europe to refit, with such of his prizes as he could bring away. When the news of this glorious victory arrived in England, its importance was estimated as it deserved; and the honours of the peerage were bestowed on admiral Nelson, by the title of baron Nelson of the Nile. To the French government it was a disappointment and a humiliation of the most serious kind; their army in Egypt was thrown into the greatest consternation; Bonaparte only affecting to put on a degree of firmness, and to undervalue an exploit which equalled the proudest victories of ancient or modern times. But let us look to its consequences.

The French government had flattered itself that the Sublime Porte could be easily reconciled to their invasion of Egypt, and might believe that the object was not to oppose the power of the grand signor, but of the Beys and Mamelouks. But whatever was the case before this naval victory, the grand signor assumed a loftier tone after that event was announced, declared war against France, and at the same time sent costly presents to admiral Nelson. The proceedings of the congress at Rastadt were dilatory and confused; and while a decision was protracted under various pretences, the period appointed for its deliberations being expired, the hostile armies began again to take the field. A Neapolitan army entered Rome, but was afterward defeated by the French troops, and the city of Naples taken by storm: this was followed by the usual consequence of the French invasions,—a complete subversion of the Neapolitan government, and the erection of a republic on its ruins.

About the close of this year, a provisional treaty was signed at St. Petersburgh, between emperor Paul (who, in 1796, succeeded his mother, Catherine II.) and the king of Great Britain, in which the two high contracting powers engaged to employ all their endeavours to induce the king of Prussia to take an active

part against France. Immediately on his Prussian majesty's consenting to this measure, the emperor of Russia was to afford him a succour of land-forces, amounting to 45,000 men, infantry and cavalry; and, in consideration of this service, his Britannic majesty engaged to furnish the emperor a subsidy of 75,000*l.* sterling *per* month, from the day on which the Russian troops should have passed the frontier; another subsidy of 37,500*l.* *per* month for extra charges, during all the time that the said troops shall be employed by virtue of this treaty; also the further sum of 225,000*l.* in three months, to expedite the march of the troops to be employed. The king of Prussia, however, refused to accept this overture. The progress of the Russian army will be detailed hereafter.

LETTER XCIII.

WHILE preparations were thus making for the renewal of the war on the continent, measures were in agitation at home, which promised to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom at large, endangered as it had so lately been by the rebellion in Ireland. 1799. The propriety of the union of that country with Great Britain had been long entertained as a matter of speculation; and the present crisis appeared to the ministers of both countries very favourable for attempting to carry it into practice. Of the general policy of the measure there was very little doubt; but it was natural that it should be opposed by a certain class, for the reasons that had been advanced when the same measure was proposed in the case of Scotland, and notwithstanding experience had completely demonstrated their fallacy.

This measure was introduced into the British house of commons on the 22d of January, in a royal message, in which his majesty, adverting to the avowed design of our enemies to separate Ireland from Great Britain, recommended it to the house to consider of the most effectual means of defeating that design, by disposing

the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they should judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as might best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.

A few days after, the plan of the Union was introduced by Mr. Pitt, in eight propositions, of which the following is the substance: That, in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it would be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as should be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty's said kingdoms: That it would be fit to propose, as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms should, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of the UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND: That the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the united kingdoms should continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms was then limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland: That the united kingdoms should be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as should be agreed upon by the acts of the respective parliaments, should sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland: That the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, should be preserved as by law now established: That his majesty's subjects in Ireland should at all times thereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, as his majesty's

subjects in Great Britain: That no duty should be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there should be established, for a limited time, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as should, previous to the Union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased: That all articles which might at any time thereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, should be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: That where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, were subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed) should be imposed as should be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and that such others as might before the union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, should remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament: That the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund, for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, should continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom, in peace or war, should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to certain proportions established by the respective parliaments previous to the union; and that, after the expiration of the time so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as should be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union: That all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, should remain as now by law

established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

The above terms were proposed by administration from a firm persuasion, avowed to parliament, that a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of the respective kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which had unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire.

When this plan was recommended, in an indirect way, in the Irish parliament, it met with great opposition, but in the English was approved by a very considerable majority. It appeared expedient, however, that the matter should not be precipitated until the Irish had had sufficient time to consider it, and until it could be carried into effect by a more decided appearance of unanimity. And this actually was the case in the following winter, when it was brought again into the Irish parliament; on which occasion, after a full discussion, an address was voted to his majesty, expressive of a cordial approbation of the union of the two kingdoms into one. The articles then came to be discussed one by one in the English parliament; and, after the blanks were filled up, and the whole had been approved, a bill was enacted on the 2d of July 1800, in England, and on the 1st of August in Ireland, by which the two kingdoms were united on the general principles already mentioned, which event was fixed to take place on the 1st of January, 1801.

In my last letter, the renewal of the war on the continent was briefly noticed, and it was now assisted by the powerful alliance of the emperor of Russia, who sent an army under the command of field-marshal

Suwarrow. This officer, joined by an Austrian army, obtained a victory over general Moreau near the Adda, and entered Milan in triumph on the 27th of April; and, beside other engagements in which the allies were victorious, Turin, Allessandria, and Mantua, were reduced. These events encouraging the Neapolitans, with the assistance of the British seamen, under captain Trowbridge, they reduced fort St. Elmo, Naples, and other places, and effected a counter-revolution: the people of Tuscany acted the same part, while Suwarrow directed his march towards the Swiss territories; but there the genius of the French army again prevailed, and checked the progress of the allies.

The success, however, of the allies was, upon the whole, so flattering, that it was deemed expedient to make an attempt in order to rescue the people of the United Provinces from the tyranny of the French: but they refused to co-operate with their deliverers. About the end of August, a descent was made by a British army, commanded by sir Ralph Abercrombie; and, after an engagement with a body of French and Dutch, amounting to seven thousand men, the English made good their landing, found the fort of Helder evacuated, and took possession of a train of artillery, a naval magazine, and thirteen ships of war, beside three Indiamen. Admiral Mitchell, who had the command of the fleet on this expedition, entered the harbour of the Texel, almost in triumph, and captured the whole Dutch fleet, amounting to twelve ships, eight of which were of the line; their crews refusing to fight, as had before been the case in this war. The inhabitants, however, still refused their assistance; and some delay took place, before the invading army was reinforced by the Russian allies, and English troops under the duke of York. On the arrival, however, of the latter, a considerable impression was made on the interior of the country; but, owing to the rash impetuosity of the Russians, in an engagement fought September 19, the allies were obliged to retreat with great loss. On the 2d of October, another engagement took place, in which, notwithstanding the loss on the part of the enemy was far superior to that of the allies; the latter were

with difficulty able to maintain their ground. On the 6th of October, a fresh attack was made, in which the allies were left masters of the field; but the opposition made by the inhabitants, and the consequent difficulty of procuring supplies for the army, pointed out the necessity of abandoning the scheme. A convention was accordingly agreed upon between the commanders of the hostile armies, and the allies were enabled to retire without molestation.

About the time that the public mind was engaged on this expedition, a war was successfully carried on in India against Tippoo Saib, the inveterate enemy of the British power in that quarter; and who, it was more than suspected, meant to have joined the French army under Bonaparte, had the latter, in consequence of his Egyptian expedition, been able to penetrate so far. Tippoo had already received a small force from the Mauritius, and was making great preparations for his attack on the English; when the governor of Bengal, the earl of Mornington, anticipated his design, by a declaration of war, and sent general Harris toward the frontiers of Mysore, with an army of eighteen thousand men, including twelve thousand natives, who reduced some forts; and on the 6th of March, Tippoo's troops were defeated with great loss by a detachment of the Bombay army under lieutenant-general Steuart. Tippoo now encountered the grand army near Malavelli, and was defeated; and general Harris immediately commenced the siege of Seringapatam, the capital of the sultan's dominions. As soon as, by the vigorous efforts of the besiegers, a breach had been made, an assault was ordered, which terminated in the capture of this important city, and the death of the tyrant, who was killed by a musket-ball, while aiming a blow at a soldier. This important conquest was made on the 4th of May, and completely confirmed the British power in India, by destroying its most inveterate opponent, and the only ally on whom the French could have with confidence relied.

In connexion with this, we may now advert to the progress of Bonaparte in Egypt. After the successes already mentioned, he invaded the Holy Land; and,

proceeding to Syria, commenced the siege of Acre. At the head of a chosen band, exceeding twelve thousand, and with a staff of great military skill and experience, he arrived at this place, which was poorly fortified, and defended only by a small garrison of Mussulmans. A gallant English officer, sir Sydney Smyth, who had been left on the coast with a small flotilla, and had frequently harassed the enemy, advised the governor to make a vigorous resistance, and assisted him with some English seamen so bravely, that the siege lasted sixty-nine days. In this time, with a force altogether not exceeding two thousand men, sir Sydney disappointed Bonaparte in eleven attempts to carry it by assault, one of which was made during the truce which Bonaparte had solicited to bury the dead; and the hero of Italy was ultimately obliged to retreat, after losing eight of his generals, eighty-five of his officers, and one half of his army. Too much praise cannot be given to the English commander on this occasion, and words would be feeble to express the gallantry of his conduct, or the importance of his victory.

After this defeat, Bonaparte learned that a Turkish army was ready to invade Egypt by sea. He returned, therefore, with great celerity, by way of Suez, across the desert of Arabia Petrea, which divides Syria from that country, and was in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids on the 11th of July, when an army of eighteen thousand Turks landed at Aboukir: but here he had his usual fortune when engaged against an undisciplined army, and completely defeated the Turks, taking also the fort of Aboukir. The news of this was received on the 10th of October by the French directory, and, four days afterward, to the astonishment of all Europe, Bonaparte with his principal officers arrived in France, and was received at Paris with the greatest marks of distinction, of which he now was ready to avail himself in an extraordinary manner. After ingratiating himself with the soldiery, he obtained the appointment of commander of the Parisian guard, and with their assistance put an end to the commotions that had long prevailed in the two councils, by

annihilating their power, and completely establishing a new government, of which he assumed the head, by the title of First Consul; and, although the constitution now framed was essentially different from all the former, the name only of republic being retained, but not a vestige of liberty, the people received it with their usual complacence.

The first step of this new sovereign, for such he was in fact, had a general peace for its avowed object; and he addressed a letter to his majesty of Great Britain, soliciting a negociation for that purpose. His power, however, appeared to the ministry to be new and unstable; and lord Grenville, the secretary of state, in his answer to the first consul, suggested the greater propriety of a negociation, when France should be deemed more fully capable of preserving the relations of peace and amity. The conduct of the noble secretary in this correspondence underwent a very serious discussion in parliament, in the beginning of
1800. February, which ended in the support of the majority of both houses. The financial accounts of this year also occasioned very warm debates, especially what related to a tax upon income, which Mr. Pitt had proposed in lieu of the triple assessment, but which had not succeeded in proportion to his estimate. The supplies amounted to the enormous sum of thirty-nine millions and a half; new taxes, however, were required only for the interest upon five millions.

LETTER XCIV.

THE offers of peace, which the new sovereign of France sent to Great Britain, he thought proper to extend also to its allies; but they also rejected them. The emperor of Germany was induced, by some appearances of success in Italy, to continue the war; but when Bonaparte resumed the command in person, his usual success attended him, particularly at the battle of Marengo, June 14, in which the Austrians were defeated with prodigious loss; and their cause became so

hopeless, that an armistice was proposed, and granted, on condition of the emperor's restoring Genoa, which his troops, in concert with a British squadron, had lately taken; and at the same time surrendering several citadels, among which were Milan, Turin, and Tortona. The success of the French under Moreau in Germany, which was not quite so rapid, was interrupted by a negociation now begun, and founded on the treaty of Campo Formio.

The English maritime forces this year made a descent on the coast of Bretagne, and destroyed the forts of Quiberon. The Dutch settlements of Goree and Curaçao were also added to their conquests; and, what in its consequences was more important, the island of Malta, after a long blockade, was wrested from the French. An unsuccessful attempt was also made on the Spanish coast; but no encouragement was received from the natives of the countries under the immediate subjection of France, in these expeditions. In Egypt the Turks began to be more successful, and the French army proposed to resign every post and town, provided they were allowed to return unmolested to France. This, however, the British government thought proper to refuse, and Menou now became commander in chief, and the war continued.

During this state of affairs, the emperor of Russia withdrew his army, and commenced a dispute with Great Britain, accusing her of maritime encroachments; and, without previous warning, laid an embargo on the British shipping in his ports. This he again took off, and again laid on, on the new pretence that the British detained Malta from him; to which he pretended a right, that was merely founded on his having assumed the title of grand master of the order of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He had also the art to persuade Denmark and Sweden into a convention against this country; and our ministers were consequently under the necessity of laying an embargo on the ships of these nations, and of preparing to engage with this new enemy in a manner which his weaker allies did not expect.

The prospect was now sufficiently gloomy; but it was perhaps further darkened by the defection of the emperor of Germany; who, after having again renewed the war, and being defeated at Hohenlinden, was compelled finally to sign a treaty of peace with France. The outlines of this were, that his imperial majesty confirmed the cession of the Belgic provinces to the French; he ceded also the country of Falkenstein, the Frichtal, and all the Austrian territory on the left bank of the Rhine between Zurzach and Basle; and engaged to give up the Brisgaw to the duke of Modena. He consented to the renunciation of Tuscany by the grand duke, who was to be succeeded by the heir of the duchy of Parma, and was to be indemnified by German grants. He acceded to the French demand of the permanent possession of the countries situate on the left bank of the Rhine, from the point where it leaves the Helvetic territory to where it enters the Batavian confines. France waved all pretensions to the right bank of that river, and promised to restore the fortresses of Dusseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philipsburg, Cassel, and Old Brisach, on condition of their remaining in the same state in which they should be found at the time of their evacuation: and it was also agreed, that the former assignments of Venetian territories to the emperor should be established. Thus ended the celebrated confederacy of the continental powers against France. Portugal only remained in alliance with Great Britain; while Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, were now to be ranked among her enemies.

In this situation of affairs, the first parliament of the united kingdom assembled on the 22d of January, and took into consideration the northern confederacy, which was adverted to in his majesty's speech. But the most important event of this period was the resignation of the ministry, in consequence of a difference of opinion in the cabinet council respecting the emancipation of the Irish catholics from their remaining disabilities. Some, however, imagined, that the administration, finding themselves so involved by repeated declarations as not to be able with

1801.

consistency to negociate a peace with the present ruler of France, yielded their places to those who were not incumbered with such obstacles. Be this as it may, a new administration was speedily formed, of which Mr. Addington, formerly speaker of the house of commons, became first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Hawkesbury and lord Pelham, secretaries of state; and earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty. In the mean time, Mr. Pitt conducted the business of raising the supplies, which he estimated at forty-two millions.

The first object with the new ministers was necessarily the northern confederacy; and, in preparing to defeat that measure, they neither wanted policy nor promptitude. The Swedish island of St. Bartholomew in the West-Indies was captured by a small British fleet; and about the same time the island of St. Martin surrendered, although after an obstinate resistance. The islands of St. Thomas and St. John, belonging to the Danes, were also added to our conquests; and about the same time the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. But these were objects of inferior concern. A grand fleet was now equipped to assert our cause in the north. Sailing toward the Sound, it was feebly cannonaded from the castle of Cronenberg, and soon reached the isle of Huene; from which situation the preparations of the Danes could be seen, and appeared sufficiently formidable. The approaches to Copenhagen were fortified with skill; and, beside other defences, a line of ships was added to the strength of the place. The admiral, sir Hyde Parker, having ordered an attack from the southward (April 2,) lord Nelson advanced with twelve sail of the line, four frigates, some sloops, fire-ships, and bomb-vessels: after a very severe engagement, an end was put to the contest, which was decidedly in favour of the assailants, by a cessation of hostilities proposed by lord Nelson, who went on shore; and, after a conference with the prince of Denmark, a convention was signed for a regular armistice. On the 19th, the British fleet appeared off Carlscrone, and, in consequence of a communication made by the admiral to

the governor, an answer was returned from his Swedish majesty, intimating that he would not fail to fulfil the engagements entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies, furnished with proper authority to regulate the matters in dispute.

But what more especially contributed to terminate this contest, was the sudden death (by violence, as reported) of Paul, the emperor of Russia, who had for some time shown symptoms of excessive violence and irregularity of temper, if not of mental derangement. He expired on the 23d of March; and, had the event been known sooner at the courts of Denmark and Sweden, the late battle might have been prevented, as they were evidently drawn into the confederacy by his superior influence. His successor, Alexander, immediately renewed the relations of amity with the British court; and reversed the violent proceedings of Paul with liberal alacrity. A convention was now negociated, by which, it was hoped, the disputes with the northern powers would hereafter be avoided. It was stipulated, that effects embarked in neutral vessels should be free, with the exception of contraband stores of war, and the property of an enemy; that the latter designation should not include the merchandise of the produce, growth, or manufacture, of the countries at war, acquired by the subjects of the neutral state, and transported on their account; that the commodities prohibited should be such only as were declared contraband by the treaty of commerce concluded between Great Britain and Russia in 1797; that a port should be considered as under blockade, when the ships of a belligerent power should be so stationed as to render it evidently dangerous to enter; that the neutral vessels should not be stopped, except upon strong grounds; and that the proceedings should be uniform, prompt and legal. It was also agreed, that the right of searching mercantile vessels sailing under convoy of a ship of war, should only be exercised by the ships of the government, and not by those of private adventurers.

This affair, however, was not the only triumph of the new administration. Overtures had long been

made for a peace with the French republic; but these were conducted with so much secrecy, and from the circumstances of their being protracted, with such apparent difficulty, that the public was by no means relieved from its fears of invasion, now that Bonaparte was released from other engagements, and might direct the power of France to this object. Judicious schemes of defence were adopted, and lord Nelson was sent out with a small flotilla to destroy the enemy's preparations in their ports; and, although this did not succeed to the utmost expectation, it became evident that the enemy had no security but while they remained closely confined in their own harbours.

The great object of this year, however, was the conquest of Egypt. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, with a considerable army, disembarked at the bay of Aboukir, on the 8th of March, amid the greatest dangers, and firmest opposition of the French troops, who poured down from all quarters to resist the landing of the English; and they had scarcely landed when they came to a general engagement, in which they were victorious, although with considerable loss. Having taken the fort of Aboukir, they had another engagement with the French on the 21st, in which they were also victorious, but with the loss of their gallant commander, sir Ralph Abercrombie, who received a mortal wound in the thigh. Several of the staff-officers were also wounded; but the enemy, beside the loss of three of their generals, had three thousand five hundred men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

The chief command now devolved on general Hutchinson; but for some time no very important exploit was performed. Rosetta, however, was taken, and the fort of Damietta; and the Turks, who had now joined the English, gained several advantages over the enemy at Ramanich. General Hutchinson, on the 25th of June, laid siege to Cairo; and, on the 27th, accepted the surrender of the French, on honourable terms. The reduction of Alexandria followed on the 2d of September; and thus the whole French army, said yet to exceed thirty thousand men, were obliged to relinquish all their conquests, and yield to an enemy

of whom they affected to entertain no apprehension. The intelligence of this affair in England spread universal joy: it was now seen that the British army was not inferior in bravery and skill to the navy; and it was no secret that the possession of Egypt was the most favourite object in the mind of the chief consul.

While these victories were the subject of general congratulation, an event of yet higher importance was communicated to the public at a moment when nothing seemed more improbable; I mean, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and the French republic. This joyful news was communicated on the 2d of October. The negociation had been carried on for some months by lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state, and M. Otto. According to these preliminaries, Great Britain agreed to the restoration of all her conquests; the island of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon excepted. The Cape of Good Hope was to remain a free port to all the contracting parties, who were to enjoy the same advantages. The island of Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Egypt was restored to the Ottoman Porte. The territory of Portugal was to be maintained in its integrity; and the French troops were to evacuate the territory of Rome and Naples. The republic of the Seven Islands was to be recognized by the French republic. These were Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, &c., which, having been taken by the Russians and Turks, had been formed into a republic under their protection. The fishery of Newfoundland was established on its former footing; and, finally, plenipotentiaries were to be named by the contracting parties, to repair to Amiens, and form a definitive treaty.

Accordingly, on the 27th of March, a treaty was signed, at Amiens, by marquis Cornwallis, on the part of Great Britain and Ireland, and Joseph Bo-
1802. naparte, brother to the first consul, on the part of the French republic, which differs in some points from the preliminaries. A part of Portuguese Guiana was given up to the French by a new adjustment of boundaries. As to Malta, it was stipulated

that no French or English *tongue*, or class of knights, should be allowed; that one half of the soldiers in garrison should be natives, and the rest should be furnished for a time by the king of Naples; that the independence of the island, under the sway of the knights, should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; and that its ports should be free to all nations. It was also agreed that the prince of Orange should receive compensation for his loss of property and of power; and that persons who might hereafter be accused of murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy, should be surrendered to the demands of each party. In the course of the preceding year, the French republic concluded a treaty of peace with Portugal, at Badajos, on the 20th of September; with Russia, at Paris, October 8th; and also with the Ottoman Porte, the emperor of Germany, and the king of the Two Sicilies.

Thus ended the most extraordinary war in which the powers of Europe had ever been engaged; a war of such gigantic destruction to the established order of kingdoms and states, that a volume would be wanted to point out the changes it effected, and the utmost comprehension of mind to review its progress, and foresee its consequences. The treaty of Amiens was opposed in the British parliament principally by those who had conducted the war; and it was supported by the administration and by the whig party, as the best which could be made under the existing circumstances of Europe: it added nothing to Great Britain, under the head of indemnity, but it took nothing from us for which we had been contending: the empire remained in its integrity, and our constitution was no otherwise affected than as it had been thought necessary to introduce certain new laws to curb a licentious spirit, which seemed prompt to fraternize with the revolutionary spirit of France. On the other hand, our allies had either essentially suffered in their government and territories, or had become subjected to France as closely as if they had been declared an integral part of that republic. But what France herself

has gained and lost forms the most remarkable phenomenon of the war. She overturned her ancient government, murdered her king, and massacred her citizens, to establish freedom in its utmost latitude; and she now sat down under the government of a sovereign, more despotic than any in Europe; and all the consolation humanity derived was, that she enjoyed her present situation with less cruelty than when she pursued the phantom of republican liberty.

LETTER XCV.

AMONG those, who, in both houses of parliament, undervalued the advantages to be derived by the late peace, were many, whose suspicions of the sincerity of the governor of France could not at all be allayed by the amicable formalities which usually follow a negociation of this kind: and the same opinions were held by a very considerable number of the nation, who were convinced that the peace, while it left the continent under the strong predominance of France, must infallibly promote the future ambitious schemes of Bonaparte. So prevalent was this view of the relations between the lately belligerent powers, that even the ministers who had received credit for bringing the war to a conclusion, had little difficulty in procuring greater supplies than it is usual to demand, and a larger army and navy, than it is usual to keep up, during a time of peace.

Nor was it long before the propriety of these measures was very generally acknowledged; for at the first meeting of a new parliament, his majesty felt
1802. it necessary to notice the advances in strength and power, which France had made, contrary to the spirit of the late treaty. Bonaparte had already destroyed the independence of the Swiss, and had made the most wanton encroachments on that of Holland and Italy. He had caused himself to be appointed consul for life; and was even employing missionaries in this country to procure such intelligence

as might be serviceable to him, in case of a future rupture; and of, what was his favourite object, an invasion of this country.

Some of these steps were avowed, and some more secret; but it was certain, that preparations were making in the French and Dutch ports, and there appeared, on that account only, sufficient ground for adequate arrangements on the part of Great Britain. In the mean time discussions were carried on between the English and French governments, but with so little effect, that the English ministers issued an order for general reprisals, on May 16; and so necessary did this measure appear, that the news of it excited no surprise, and in parliament very little opposition. Among the people there is, perhaps, no instance in our history of a similar display of patriotic zeal. When it was found that there were considerable differences of opinion among our statesmen respecting such an increase of the regular army as might be wanted for internal defence, the latter was instantaneously supplied by immense bodies of volunteers, who submitted to all the fatigues and privations of military training, and very soon decreased the dread of invasion. It was also correctly ascertained, that this patriotic display created a bitter disappointment in the mind of the French consul, who had calculated on his attempt as infallible; and who always affected to undervalue the prowess of our soldiers, while he reluctantly allowed that of our sailors. So enraged was he, on hearing that resistance to his ambition was likely to be popular in England, that he ordered all persons of this nation, who happened to be within his dominions, when the letters of reprisal were issued, to be detained as prisoners; an act of cruelty wholly without a precedent, and which was, for some years, aggravated by the sufferings of these unhappy persons; many of whom sunk under the barbarous treatment they received. 1803.

During these events, which, it was natural to suppose, might have cured every reasonable man of any prejudices in favour of revolutional principles, the government was twice disturbed by attempts to raise

rebellion. The first took place in the metropolis, when one Despard, a native of Ireland, who had formerly attained the rank of colonel, but had been disappointed in some higher expectations, framed a treasonable conspiracy, in which a few soldiers, and some persons of other descriptions, were concerned. The purpose of this was the assassination of his majesty, and what they called a complete regeneration of the state. Their plot, however, was discovered; and the ringleader, with eleven of their number, were tried by a special commission. Nine were found guilty, of whom, seven, including Despard, were executed. Numerous addresses were presented to the king on this occasion, and, in thatfrom the house of commons, such machinations were ascribed to "those detestable principles which were as adverse to the enjoyment of practical liberty, as to the existence of regular authority, and destructive of the comfort and security of all classes of society." Happy would it have been for the nation if these "detestable principles" had given way to a better train of thinking; but we shall find them revived, on various occasions, for many years, and at length strengthened by the more brutalizing principles of infidelity and impiety.

The other instance, in which the internal peace of the country was disturbed, occurred in Ireland. Before parliament adjourned, it was announced to them, in a royal message, that a treasonable and rebellious spirit had manifested itself, and had been marked by circumstances of peculiar atrocity, at Dublin. The leader, in this case, was Robert Emmet, whose brother had been concerned in the rebellion of 1798; but had been allowed to escape punishment. This new ringleader, some years before, had been expelled the university of Dublin for political intrigues; and had wandered over the continent, whence he returned to Ireland, and put himself at the head of a desperate banditti. They had collected a considerable quantity of arms, and their first attempt was to take the castle of Dublin. To this Emmet was proceeding, rather more precipitately than he intended, through the streets, at the head of about eighty men; when they accidently met with lord Kil-

warden, chief-justice of Ireland, whom they instantly massacred in the most barbarous manner, along with his nephew, a clergyman, who happened to be in his lordship's coach. The military, however, being alarmed, the principal rebels were apprehended and afterwards executed. Emmet, who, in the confusion, had made his escape, was discovered about a month afterwards, and shared the fate of his companions.

LETTER XCVI.

THE first operations of the war, on the part of Great Britain, were necessarily directed to those quarters where our naval force could be employed; and, as notice of the recommencement of the war had been speedily communicated to the commander in the West-Indies, no time was lost in regaining what we had surrendered by the peace. St. Lucia appears to have been the first of those conquests; which was followed by our troops taking possession of Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; and the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice. The French also were driven out of St. Domingo, which was left to its native defenders.

But the successes of the British army in the East-Indies were still more brilliant, and, with regard to the security and extension of our power in the East, far more important. This new war was occasioned by the intrigues of the Mahratta states, and the necessity there appeared of destroying the remaining French influence. In pursuance of the same policy which had actuated the marquis Cornwallis, the present governor-general, the marquis Wellesley formed an alliance with the peishwa, and with the nizam of the Decan, against Scindia, Holkar, and Bhoonsla, the rajar of Berar, supported by the French general Perron. The peishwa having, in 1802, been expelled from his dominions by Holkar, entered into a subsidiary treaty with the English, whose first attempt was the restoration of that chieftain. The command of the troops, employed on

this occasion to advance into the Mahratta dominions, was given to major-general Arthur Wellesley, brother to the governor-general, and an officer whose skill and bravery in India had been known in former wars. Holkar having precipitately retreated at the approach of the British, general Wellesley advanced rapidly to the Poonah, which he entered on the 13th of May, and was informed that Scindia, and the rajar of Berar, were negociating an alliance with Holkar. As such a confederacy would have been particularly dangerous, in consequence of the co-operation of Perron, who possessed an army trained in European tactics, a plan of operations was formed by the British, for a combined attack on the united armies in the Decan; on Perron's establishment in the Douab, where he had obtained almost the power and influence of a sovereign prince; and on every assailable point in the vast territories of Scindia, and the rajah of Berar.

In pursuance of this plan, general Wellesley, who was opposed to the two latter chieftains, marched against the fortress of Ahmednughur, which he reduced on the 12th of August, and then advanced to Aurungabad; but his first grand victory was achieved on the 23d of September, at Assaya, or Assai, over the combined army, amounting to more than six times the number of troops which he led into the field. In the mean time, the Bombay army had gained possession of Scindia's territories, in the Guzzerat; and, before the end of October, lieutenant-colonel Harcourt took possession of the town and province of Cuttack, belonging to the rajah of Berar. In the north of India, the Bengal army, under general Lake, reduced the strong fortress of Ally Ghur, and compelled to a precipitate retreat the forces commanded by Perron, in whom the native powers no longer confided. Advancing next towards the city of Delhi, general Lake obtained a complete victory, although after a severe conflict, over the army of Scindia. He then reduced the fort of Agra; and, on the 1st of November, defeated the remainder of Scindia's forces, commanded by Louis Bourguien, in which were fifteen of Perron's regular battalions, at Laswaree.

General Wellesley followed up his victory at Assaya by driving the rajah of Berar into his own territories, and encountering him, on the 28th of November, in the plains of Argaum, gained another splendid victory, which was followed by the capture of Gamil Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India. These successes compelled the rajah to sue for peace, and he and his confederates were obliged to submit to such terms as extended and consolidated the British power, and annihilated the influence of the French in India. From this quarter of the globe it is now necessary to return to the state of affairs at home.

The present year was not productive of many events arising out of the renewal of hostilities. 1804. In January, the English settlement at Goree, on the coast of Africa, was taken by a small French force, under the chevalier Maha; but, in the beginning of March, without a blow being struck, it surrendered to captain Dixon, of his majesty's frigate the Inconstant, with a store-ship and some sloops, under his command. In the Indian seas, an affair took place which afforded one of those proofs of naval courage and skill,—inimitable by other nations,—with which our history abounds; and which were destined more particularly to distinguish the present war. The French admiral, Linois, had just plundered the settlement of Bencoolen, and had committed many depredations on the Company's trading vessels in those seas, when he determined to cruize near the straits of Malacca, for the purpose of intercepting the homeward-bound China ships. On the 14th of February, a fleet of fifteen Company's ships, and twelve country ships, under the command of captain Dance, who, being senior, acted as commodore, came in sight of Linois' squadron, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, three frigates, and a brig. Captain Dance immediately made signal to form a line of battle, in close order; and next day, at one in the afternoon, bore down upon the enemy, under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then closed his line, and opened a fire upon the headmost ships, which reserved theirs for a nearer approach; but, before the first three could get into action, the enemy's squadron

hauled their wind, and with the most dastardly precipitation stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two o'clock the commodore made the signal for a general chase, and pursued the French admiral for two hours. He then continued his voyage, and, having brought his fleet safe to England, received the honour of knighthood, at his majesty's hands; and, along with the other captains and their crews, was liberally rewarded by the East-India company.

About the end of this year, several operations were undertaken against the enemy's armaments, on the coasts of France and Holland; which, although they proved abortive, served to demonstrate that these armaments and the boasted flotilla for the invasion of England had no security but while remaining close in their respective harbours. The terrors of invasion were now indeed considerably abated; and, although the system of increasing our military power had been the subject of much debate in parliament, yet it proved effectual to place the nation in a satisfactory posture of defence, as well as to provide a disposable force when it should become necessary to combat the enemy on the continent. His majesty's spirited declaration on the meeting of parliament tended likewise not a little to quiet the fears of the timid. He declared that, as he and his brave and loyal people were embarked in one common cause, it was his fixed determination, if occasion should arise, to share their exertions and dangers in defence of their constitution, religion, laws, and independence.

Bonaparte had now so completely thrown off the pacific mask, and was making such strides towards the destruction of the independence of Europe, that the inhabitants of our highly-favoured island universally felt the importance of supporting his majesty's brave and patriotic resolution. Early in February of this year, a plot, or supposed plot, was detected in Paris, to subvert the consular government; and, as usual with Bonaparte, was attributed to the English ministry. On this occasion, the legislative body, and the tribunate, sent deputations to Bonaparte, imploring him to take proper steps for the preservation of a

life so dear to France. The first step he appears to have taken, was to dip his hands in the blood of the duke D'Enghien, eldest son of the duke of Bourbon, whom he caused to be seized, in the most treacherous manner, while peaceably residing in the electorate of Bavaria. This unfortunate prince was thence dragged to the castle of Vincennes, and murdered in a wood near that place, the night after his arrival. The next step was yet more gratifying to the ambition of this remorseless man. In the month of March the French senate proposed to nominate Bonaparte hereditary emperor, and this being seconded by the armies and other public bodies, he was, in the month of May, declared emperor of the French; making this rank and title hereditary in his family; and empowering him, if he should have no male issue, to adopt an heir from the children and grandchildren of his brothers Joseph and Louis. How he procured a more direct heir will appear hereafter.

In the mean time, it was impossible that the powers on the continent should remain long undisturbed. After the murder of the duke D'Enghien, the emperor of Russia remonstrated against the gross violation of the neutrality of the German empire by the arrest of that unfortunate prince; and, obtaining no satisfaction, withdrew his ambassador from Paris. But, although Alexander was not supported by a corresponding display of spirit on the part of the Germanic body, he was the means of compelling Bonaparte to remove into Italy some of the battalions destined for the invasion of England; and the emperor of Germany, at the same time, began to place his military establishments on the best footing, which seemed to give a temporary check to the projects of the usurper. In the course of this year, the emperor Francis, in consequence, as it should seem, of the assumption of the imperial dignity by the French consul, caused himself to be proclaimed hereditary emperor of Austria, a title which he still retains. Of the other powers of Europe, Spain only appears to have been intimidated into a hostile connection with France; and, it appearing that soldiers and sailors were passing through Spain

for the French fleets at Ferrol and Toulon, and that considerable armaments were preparing in the principal ports of Spain, without any explanation having been given to the British court, the latter ordered, as a measure of precaution, that Ferrol should be blockaded. At the same time an assurance was given to the court of Madrid, that Great Britain still felt an earnest desire to maintain a good understanding with Spain; but, it was added, that this could be only on condition that she abstained from all hostile preparations, and made that full and explicit disclosure of the nature and extent of her engagements with France, which had hitherto been so frequently and so fruitlessly demanded.

This memorial having been disregarded, the British government issued orders for the seizure of such Spanish ships of war homeward bound, as contained bullion, or mercantile vessels laden with military stores. In consequence of this, four large Spanish frigates, laden with gold and silver bullion, and merchandise of immense value, were captured in October, by a detachment from the channel fleet, consisting of the Indefatigable, and three other frigates, commanded by captain Graham Moore. But still a negociation was carried on between the respective courts, and it was not until December 14th, that the British minister left Madrid, in consequence of his catholic majesty having declared war against England on the 12th; compelled to that unwise step by the predominant influence and threats of Bonaparte. The latter was now meditating the enlargement of his navy; and, although he discovered great ignorance of naval affairs, he hoped now to succeed by the fleets of Spain, and the assistance of the sailors, harbours, &c., of Genoa, which had been yielded to him by a convention. In the mean time, he took every occasion to violate the rights of neutral states; and among others, ordered the English chargé d'affaires, sir George Rumbold, to be seized, at Hamburg, by a party of French troops, who crossed the Elbe for that purpose. The cabinet of Berlin, however, not yet prepared to submit to such tyranny, presented a remonstrance, in

consequence of which sir George was allowed to return home, but without having his papers restored to him.

The only other circumstance I shall include in my present letter, was the change of administration, which took place in the spring of this year. The object was to unite, in this new administration, as large a proportion as possible of men of talents of both parties; but this being found impracticable, in the present state of opinions, the following members of the last ministry, the duke of Portland, earl of Westmoreland, lord Eldon, the earl of Chatham, and lord Castlereagh, united with Mr. Pitt, (who resumed his office of premier,) Mr. Dundas, now lord Melville, lord Harrowby, lord Camden, and lord Mulgrave. The administration of Ireland continued the same; but a change took place in India, where the marquis Wellesley was succeeded as governor-general by the marquis Cornwallis. The last act of the marquis Wellesley's government was to chastise the arrogance of Holkar, who was about to disturb the peace, and acquire an ascendency in the Mahratta empire. This was successfully accomplished by the army under lord Lake, general Wellesley, and general Frazer, in several encounters, which, however important in themselves to the desired object, must yield to the more momentous events now opening to us in Europe.

LETTER XCVII.

THE ambitious views of the usurper of the French throne were now rapidly disclosing themselves; and, as amidst all his projects, there was a degree of cunning and assumed moderation, he gave a remarkable instance of this by addressing a letter, written in his own hand, to our king, with an overture for peace; but without any distinct terms, or any renunciation of those schemes by which, it was obvious, he meant to destroy the influence of Great Britain on the continent. An answer was returned, in a note 1805.

from lord Mulgrave to Talleyrand, the French minister, in which it was announced that the king was most desirous to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, compatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions; but as this end could be attained only by arrangements for the future security and tranquillity of Europe; he felt it impossible to give a more particular answer to the overture, until he had communicated with the powers of the continent, with whom he was engaged in confidential relations, and in particular with the emperor of Russia. This answer obtained the concurrence of Parliament, and suitable supplies were granted, and provision made, for the continuance of a war, rendered necessary by the arrogance of the French ruler. The only proceeding of parliament this session, unconnected with the war, was the prosecution of Mr. Dundas, now lord Melville, for certain alleged irregularities in his office of treasurer of the navy. This was carried on in the way of impeachment, which commenced in April of the following year, in Westminster-Hall; but after a trial of sixteen days, his lordship was acquitted on each of the charges by a majority of the peers. His lordship, when this prosecution began, was first lord of the admiralty, an office which he thought proper to resign, and was succeeded by sir Charles Middleton; who, by pursuing the salutary measures of his predecessor, restored the fleet to that state of efficiency which was soon destined to be displayed in the most glorious action to be found in the annals of any navy.

I have already remarked, that Bonaparte, whatever his merit in military, knew little of naval affairs. Ignorant as he was, it became his threat, that the ocean should no more belong to England; and he was confident that the navies of France and Spain were sufficient to deprive us of our ancient dominion: but he knew nothing of the character of an English sailor, and nothing of the tactics so successfully introduced and practised by our Rodneys, Howes, Jarvises, Duncans, and Nelsons. He was now, however, to be taught, by terrible experience, a lesson to which his pride had

hitherto blinded him, namely, that his fleets, however numerous, had no security but in their own harbours.

Early in the year, a squadron of six French sail of the line, and two frigates, which had been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, contrived to make their escape and put out to sea; and in March, the Toulon fleet of eleven sail of the line, under admiral Villeneuve, by similar good fortune, quitted the harbour without being perceived by lord Nelson's squadron, who immediately pursued them, thinking they meditated another attack upon Egypt. Villeneuve's fleet, however, had suffered so much, a few days after his departure, by a storm, that he deemed it prudent to return to port; where he was joined by the Rochefort squadron, which had left the West-Indies on the arrival of admiral Cochrane. About the beginning of April, Villeneuve arrived again in the West-Indies, with an armament of eighteen sail of the line, and 10,000 veteran soldiers, in a perfect state of equipment. On receiving this intelligence, lord Nelson, now in the bay of Tetuan, on the Barbary coast, determined to proceed to the West-Indies, although his fleet consisted of only ten sail of the line, which had been cruizing for more than two years. Not finding the object of his pursuit in that quarter, he continued across the Atlantic, but in vain; and therefore resolved on returning to England, after despatching nine ships of the line to reinforce lord Gardner off Brest, in which port he thought it possible that the hostile fleets might attempt to take refuge. Villeneuve, however, with his fleet, now augmented to twenty sail of the line, French and Spanish, fell in with the English squadron, consisting of fifteen sail of the line, under sir Robert Calder, which was cruising off cape Finisterre. Sir Robert attacked and took two ships of the line, but from the foggy state of the weather, he deemed it necessary to bring too the squadron, and cover them. Villeneuve is said to have repeatedly bore up in order of battle, but at length departed, and reached Ferrol in safety, where he augmented his force to twenty-seven sail of the line, and then entered the port of Cadiz, on the 27th of August.

Lord Nelson, being now appointed to the command

of an armament of sufficient force to cope with that of the enemy, hoisted his flag on board the Victory, at Portsmouth, on the 11th of September, and put to sea on the following day, without waiting for five ships of the line, which were preparing to sail with him. Having taken the command of a fleet under admiral Collingwood, on the coast of Spain, he stationed his main force near Cape St. Mary's, and established a line of frigates to observe and communicate the movements of the enemy. In the middle of October, on being apprised that a reinforcement of seven sail of the line would speedily join him from England, he detached admiral Louis, with six sail of the line, on a particular service, and this being known to Villeneuve, encouraged him to put to sea. On the 21st of October, his fleet, consisting of eighteen French and fifteen Spanish ships, was descried off cape Trafalgar. He believed that the English fleet did not now exceed twenty-one ships, but it had received the expected reinforcement, and consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line.

No sooner had admiral Nelson perceived that the momentous battle was approaching, than he prepared to die for his country. It appears that he had a strong and irresistible impression on his mind that this would be the case, and, on the morning of the conflict, he took leave of captain Blackwood, who had come on board for orders, in these words, "God bless you, Blackwood:—I shall never speak to you again." The last signal to the fleet, was that memorable one, ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. The shout, with which it was received throughout the fleet, was truly sublime. "Now," said lord Nelson, "I can do no more: we must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty." About ten o'clock, lord Nelson's anxiety to close with the enemy became very apparent: he bore down in his ship, the Victory, at the head of the weather-column; and admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, at the head of the lee. Of these ships it would be impossible to decide which achieved most. They seemed to vie

with each other in holding forth a brilliant example to the rest of the fleet.

The Royal Sovereign, and her line-of-battle, steered for the centre of the enemy: Lord Nelson's column advanced towards the enemy's van, and his lordship ordered his ship to be directed to the Spanish Santissima Trinidad, an immense vessel of 140 guns, which he had fought while serving under Sir John Jervis, in the memorable battle of St. Vincent's. In doing this he ran on board the Redoubtable, a French seventy-four, which, coming alongside, fired a broadside into the Victory, which, passing astern of the Bucentaur, and pouring a dreadful broadside into her, went forward to her mark; playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder, and three shots each, into the Redoubtable.

The Redoubtable had, for some time, commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which, like those of the enemy's other ships, were filled with riflemen, a practice which Lord Nelson always disapproved of, as useless to decide a battle, and unfair in itself. The Victory now became enveloped in smoke, except at intervals, when it partially dispersed; and, owing to the want of wind, was surrounded with the enemy's ships. At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter-deck: the admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought: Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some necessary directions, and his lordship was in the act of turning near the hatchway, with his face towards the stern, when a musket-ball struck him on the left shoulder, and, entering through the epaulet, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. Nelson instantly fell, with his face on the deck, in the very place that was covered with the blood of his secretary, Mr. Scott, who was killed in the first heat of the action. Captain Hardy, on turn-

ing round, saw a sergeant of marines, with two seamen, raising him from the deck: "Hardy," said his lordship, "I believe they have done it at last, my back-bone is shot through."

Some of the crew bore the admiral below, among the dying and the dead; where his mighty spirit appeared unsubdued. He remained intent on his duty to his country; and frequently and anxiously inquired for Captain Hardy, (to know the fate of the battle,) who was detained upwards of an hour on deck, before he could come. At length Captain Hardy approached him, struggling to conceal the feelings which overpowered him. "How goes the day with us, Hardy?" said his lordship. "Ten ships, my lord, have struck." "But none of ours, I hope." "There is no fear of that, my dear lord; five sail of their van have tacked, and shew an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, he found himself unable any longer to suppress his feelings, and hurried away to conceal the bitterness of his sorrow.

When, at length, the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying chief, and reported the entire number that had struck: "God be praised, Hardy," replied he; "bring the fleet to an anchor."

Lord Nelson now delivered his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home to be buried, unless his sovereign should otherwise order it, by the bones of his father and mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing that he would most probably not see him again alive, the dying hero desired his brave associate to kiss him, that he might seal their long friendship with that affection which pledged sincerity in death. Captain Hardy stood for a few minutes over the body of him he so truly regretted, in silent agony, and then, kneeling down, again kissed his forehead. "Who is that?" said the dying hero. "It is Hardy, my lord." "God bless you, Hardy," replied Nelson, feebly: and af-

terwards added, "I wish I had not left the deck; I shall soon be gone." His voice gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain; when, after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard: "I have done my duty, I praise God for it." Having said this, he turned his face towards a gentleman on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan. When the loss of their beloved commander was known throughout the fleet, a general depression prevailed. The very seamen, who were severely wounded, forgot their own sufferings and danger, and burst into a flood of tears.

The body of this gallant hero was brought to England in the Victory, and, by his Majesty's direction, buried at St. Paul's, at the public expense, with naval and military honours. This took place on January 9, 1806, with a solemnity and splendour never before seen. A monument was afterwards voted by parliament, and honours and an estate granted to his family.

It has been justly said by one of Lord Nelson's many biographers, that he was the most "unrivalled man of his day in the annals of his country. The flame of his patriotism was ardent and pure. It elevated him entirely above all selfish considerations; and not only made him soar beyond the cold dictates of duty, but induced him to hazard his own reputation, which he valued much more than his life, to the perils of ill success, and of disgrace and punishment, the consequent evils of unprosperous disobedience, whenever he thought the glory of his country might be advanced by the venture. Mere personal gallantry, united with an enthusiasm for fame, has not unfrequently been exhibited in the human character. How small a part of Nelson's praise does this constitute? His powerful talents, his unequalled sagacity, and political knowledge, were qualities of far higher wonder."

The issue of this memorable battle was the capture of nineteen sail of the combined fleet, with the commander in chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals. It was some diminution, however, of the success of this great action, that the tempestuous weather,

which immediately followed, rendered it necessary to destroy almost all the prizes; four of which alone were carried safe into Gibraltar. Of the ships which made their escape, four were captured by sir Richard Strachan, on November the 4th, as he was cruizing, with the same number of ships of the line and some frigates, off Ferrol. To the enemy's naval pretensions, the defeat was fatal. The superiority of the British navy was now so sensibly felt throughout Europe, that her sovereignty on the seas was never afterwards disputed, nor was any expedition worthy of notice attempted by the enemy's fleet.

The policy of England, in resisting the ambition of France, consisted in forming a combination of the powers of Europe, united in one cause and upon one principle; but the time was not yet come when this was destined to be successful. Bonaparte had not yet taught the armies on the continent to rival his own tactics, and his successes for some years added an apparent strength to the arguments of those who had formerly done little more than to declaim against such confederacies. In pursuance of that policy, however, which appeared to the British cabinet the most likely to succeed, a treaty of concert was concluded at St. Petersburgh, on April 11th, between his Britannic majesty and the emperor of Russia, by which they agreed to employ the most prompt and efficacious means to form a general league of the states of Europe; and, for the accomplishment of that end, to collect together a force, which, independently of the succours furnished by Great Britain, might amount to 500,000 men. The objects proposed to be effected by this combination were, the establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland; the re-establishment of the king of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an accession of territory as circumstances would permit; the future security of the kingdom of Naples; the evacuation of Italy and Elba by the French forces; and the establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future

usurpations. His Britannic majesty engaged to contribute to the common efforts, by employing his forces both by sea and land, as well as by furnishing vessels for the transport of troops, and to assist the different powers by subsidies. Those who placed confidence in this combination, declared, at the same time, that their hopes were entirely confined to a firm alliance with Russia, Austria, and Prussia; but that their fears were derived from Prussia and Austria, without both of which much reliance were not to be placed on the power of Russia.

This suspicion appears to have been well founded; for, after some ineffectual attempt at negociation with France, during which both she and the allies were making warlike movements, Mack, the Austrian general, was obliged to capitulate at Ulm, on the 17th of October, by a French corps under general Bernadotte. Mack's corps amounted to 30,000. In the mean time, the first division of the Russians joined the Austrians on the banks of the Inn, composing a force which did not exceed 75,000 men, while the French army under Bonaparte amounted to 100,000. In this difficulty the allies thought proper to effect a junction with the second Russian division, and leave Vienna, which Bonaparte immediately entered. He then marched against the combined army, which he defeated at Austerlitz, in Moravia; the Russians, who were the greatest sufferers, losing, according to their own account, 17,000 men, but, according to the French account, 22,000 killed and wounded, and 20,000 prisoners. Two days after this engagement, an interview took place between the emperor of Austria and Bonaparte, which was followed by a treaty, signed at Presburg. By this treaty, which Bonaparte dictated with his usual insolence, the emperor of Austria renounced his share of the Venetian territories, which was annexed to Bonaparte's kingdom of Italy; and he farther recognised the new-made kings of Bavaria and Wirtemburg, and the new elector of Baden, ceding, at the same time, to them three possessions, by which he was supposed to have lost 2,700,000 subjects, and, in revenue, sixteen millions of florins.

By this treaty, Austria was detached from the alliance; but the emperor of Russia, although he had heard that Prussia, too, had joined with France, and had himself so far yielded to circumstances as to withdraw his troops from the Austrian states, disdained to be a partner in any treaty with the French ruler. Still, upon the whole, the campaign of this year was completely disastrous to the allied powers, and afforded Bonaparte an opportunity of commencing, with the greatest success, his first series of measures to destroy the independence of Europe.

LETTER XCVIII.

1806. The death of Mr. Pitt, which took place in January, has been, perhaps, too rashly attributed to the failure of the alliance against France, so recently formed and so newly dissolved. Doubtless it might add something to the rapidity of his disease; but Mr. Pitt's constitution had been decaying for some time, in consequence of a hereditary gout; and, after a severe illness, but not of long duration, he expired, at the age of forty-seven.

The administration of this illustrious statesman, extending (with a small interval) through a period of twenty-three years, while it was one of the longest, was also one of the most important in the history of Great Britain. His genius so far surpassed his years, that, when he entered upon his political functions, he eclipsed his contemporaries by a display of every talent which enters into the composition of a great mind, irresistible eloquence, matured wisdom, and dignified fortitude. He found the nation exhausted by a long and unsuccessful war, and, in spite of the predictions of despondence, and the anticipations of party, he recruited the public finances, and enlarged domestic and foreign commerce to a degree which was deemed unattainable.

When that revolution took place, which shook the fabric of Europe, he foresaw its disastrous conse-

quences, and determined to check its extent. By a series of measures, concerted with wisdom, and executed with promptitude, amidst the clamours of ignorance and disaffection, he averted the horrors of anarchy and desolation from his native land, and, to the honour of her being the seat of liberty, added that of being a refuge to the oppressed. Amidst the wrecks of government, and subversion of the throne and the altar, the world beheld, with astonishment, one nation, under this great man's auspices, increasing its advantages with its difficulties, presenting an impassable barrier to the hordes that had desolated Europe, and triumphing on the ocean with a splendour which it had never known in its brightest days. In this display of political sagacity and firmness, he discovered all the advantages of greatness of character operating upon the sense of a calm and thinking people. He rivetted his popularity while he seemed to despise it, and lightened the burthens of the people by convincing them of the necessity of sacrifices, and the wisdom of liberality. He taught them the value of their happy constitution, of their equal laws and pure religion, by an eloquent reference to the nations which had forfeited those blessings, from disaffection of principle or narrowness of spirit.

As a man, his character may be allowed to stand high; for that character must be great in which neither curiosity nor malignity has discovered a failing. His personal integrity was inflexible. Avarice, ostentation, and prodigality, had no place in a mind devoted to the higher objects of national welfare and aggrandizement. With a proud consciousness of his talents and services, he resented no calumnies but with dignified contempt, and scorned the little arts by which character may be purchased. But it is in vain to do him justice in a limited sketch; more enlarged histories will enlarge on the importance of his administration, during a period more critical than the world ever saw; and the gratitude of posterity will delight to repeat, that his life was sacrificed in the service of his country, and that his last agony was preceded by a fervent ejaculation for her prosperity.

The death of Mr. Pitt rendered a new administration necessary. Lord Hawkesbury, a man of unquestionable talents, was offered the premiership by his majesty, but declined the offer with a diffidence which did him much honour. His majesty then consulted lord Grenville on the formation of a new arrangement, and the following appointments took place: Mr. Erskine, advanced to the peerage by the title of lord Erskine, lord-chancellor; earl Fitzwilliam, president of the council; lord Sidmouth, privy seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick (Grey), first lord of the admiralty; and earl of Moira, master-general of the ordnance; earl Spencer, home secretary; Mr. Fox, foreign secretary; Mr. Windham, secretary for war and colonies; and lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer. The other appointments included gentlemen who were considered as of the whig party, and two only were objected to as inconsistent with the principles of that party: the one, the admitting chief justice Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet; the other, the promoting of lord Grenville to be first lord of the treasury, who was already auditor of the exchequer. The latter difficulty was obviated by the appointment of a trustee, who should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the execution of the duty. In the appointment of lord Ellenborough, the public gradually acquiesced.

Although the materials of this administration were somewhat discordant, no change took place in the measures of their predecessors respecting the conduct and principles of the war, if we except a bill, which was introduced by Mr. Windham, for increasing the army, upon a plan of limited service. Much evil was predicted from this departure from the old system; but the success of our army in the following periods forbid us to lay great stress on such predictions.

The new administration had not been long in office before an accidental circumstance afforded them an opportunity of being convinced, contrary to the previous opinions of some of them, that no hopes could be entertained of a pacific negociation with Bonaparte. A Frenchman, calling himself Gevrilliere, obtained

access to Mr. Fox, and communicated to him a plan for assassinating Bonaparte. Mr. Fox ordered this wretch into confinement, and gave notice of his treachery to the Frcnch minister, Talleyrand. Talleyrand returned a letter of thanks for this honour and generosity, accompanied by an extract of Bonaparte's speech to the legislative body, in which he avowed his readiness to conclude peace, taking for its basis the stipulations of the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Fox answered this overture by objecting to that basis as vague and uncertain. He avowed his object to be, to obtain a peace, honourable for both nations, and for their respective allies, and of a nature to secure the future tranquillity of Europe. He also declared, and this you will observe was in strict conformity to the principles of his predecessor, that England would not treat, still less conclude upon any thing, but in concert with the emperor Alexander; and proposed that, while waiting the actual intervention of a Russian plenipotentiary, they might discuss the principal points, and make some provisional arrangements. He concluded by declaring the sincere disposition of England for peace; and added, with becoming spirit, that, "with the resources which we possess, it is most assuredly not on our own account that we need fear the continuance of the war. Of all the nations of Europe, England, perhaps, is that which suffers the least by its prolongation; but we do not the less commiserate the misfortunes of others." In answer to this, Talleyrand affected to consider England and France as fully capable of adjusting their disputes without the intervention of Russia: but Mr. Fox insisted on his first proposition; and here this attempt to negociate ended for the present.

Before it was renewed, the events of the campaign, still unfortunate for the allies, had compelled the emperor Alexander to sign preliminaries of peace with France. The state of affairs between Great Britain and France was now materially affected. France now, with an apparent moderation, made three specific offers: the restoration of Hanover; the possession of Sicily, on the principle of the *uti possidetis;* and a

facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without recognising the claim of a joint negociation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connexion and alliance. These proposals were delivered in a verbal communication from the French minister to lord Yarmouth, a young English nobleman, who had been one of those residing in France at the commencement of hostilities, and had been detained there in consequence of Bonaparte's decree, before mentioned, but was now released through Mr. Fox's intercession. The British cabinet thought the terms so favourable, that they did not hesitate in despatching lord Yarmouth to Paris, to announce their willingness to commence a negociation on the basis contained in them. But he had no sooner made this communication, than Talleyrand receded from his proposal respecting Sicily, alluded to further demands, and represented the necessity of treating with some person duly authorised, and with full powers. Although, from this specimen, our cabinet had little hopes of success, they, nevertheless, as a proof of their sincerity, sent over to Paris, with full powers, the earl of Lauderdale, the personal friend and political adherent of Mr. Fox.

Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival in Paris, endeavoured to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis;* but their negociators constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having, in the first instance, proposed that principle. After some delay, Talleyrand communicated to his lordship that the emperor Alexander had refused to ratify the preliminaries agreed upon by his minister at Paris, and that, therefore, France was disposed to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have admitted. The English ambassador, however, saw through this trick, for such it was, and honourably determined to enter into no negociation from which the emperor of Russia was to be excluded. A series of unsatisfactory discussions ensued, which lasted until September the 24th, when Bonaparte joined the army, and left only one of his

negociators to confer with lord Lauderdale. His lordship, finding that this gentleman, M. Champagny, refused to relinquish the claims of Joseph Bonaparte upon Sicily, or to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburgh, considered the negociation as at an end, and returned to England.

As the present English ministry was near its close, I shall notice the few events which were connected with our domestic interests, before taking a glance of the rapid progress of the French arms on the continent. In raising the ways and means for the year, the chancellor of the exchequer adhered scrupulously to the principles laid down by his predecessor, and found some of those difficulties which that great man had to encounter, although his political opponents were neither so numerous nor so pertinacious. The requisite supplies, on account of Great Britain, were estimated at 43,618,472*l*., and the most considerable provisions were a loan of eighteen millions, and an augmentation of the war-taxes to 19,500,000*l*., to be effected principally by raising the property-tax from six and a half to ten per cent., chargeable on all property above fifty pounds a year. Two of his taxes, that on pig-iron and that upon private brewers, he was obliged to abandon, and to substitute an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes. Salutary measures were adopted for the prevention of certain abuses in the public service, and for expediting the settlement of public accounts: but what particularly distinguished this administration was, the progress made in the abolition of the slave-trade, which, after a struggle of more than twenty years, was finally accomplished, and an address carried from both houses of parliament to the king, beseeching him to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining, by negociation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave-trade, and in the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose.

For some time before the prorogation of parliament, Mr. Fox had laboured under indisposition, and during the summer had been disabled from attending to

public business: at length his disorder, a dropsy, baffled all the applications of medical skill, and he expired on the 13th of September, in the 57th year of his age. Men of all parties hastened, on this melancholy occasion, to pay the tribute of unfeigned respect to a man of consummate talents and amiable private qualities, and to regret that, in so long a political career, the former had so seldom been brought into action. Mr. Fox was interred in Westminster Abbey, within a few feet of his celebrated antagonist, Mr. Pitt.

The death of this lamented statesman rendering some new arrangements necessary, Lord Howick was appointed secretary for foreign affairs; Mr. Thomas Grenville, brother to lord Grenville, first lord of the Admiralty; Mr. Tierney, president of the board of control; lord Sidmouth, president of council, in room of earl Fitzwilliam, who retired from ill health, and lord Holland, privy seal. These changes were rather unexpectedly followed by a dissolution of parliament; but this procured for ministers no great accession of strength in the house of commons.

After the meeting of the new parliament, the chancellor of exchequer brought forward the expenditure and resources of the year; and a bill for the abolition of the slave-trade received the royal assent on the 25th of January. Other measures were proposed and carried with the usual majorities, when, in the beginning of March, lord Howick proposed, in the house of commons, a bill, which was called "the Roman Catholics' army and navy service bill." Its professed object was to secure to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army and navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. To some there appeared no great degree of danger in a measure of this kind; and at first even his majesty seemed disposed to acquiesce; but, on more mature consideration, he foresaw in it a progress towards that entire catholic emancipation which had long been the dread of all protestants. In consequence, his ministers consented to withdraw the bill;

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but being required, at the same time, to give his majesty a pledge that they would renounce all intentions in future that were favourable to the catholic claims, they thought proper to resign. Their successors were chiefly, lords Castlereagh and Hawkesbury, and Mr. Canning, secretaries of state; Mr. Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer; lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty; earl Camden, president of the council; and lord Eldon resumed the office he had formerly filled with such dignity, that of lord-chancellor. The opposition to this new arrangement appearing very strong, his majesty, as on a former memorable occasion, determined to take the sense of the people, while these events were fresh in their recollection, and dissolved the parliament. In his speech on this occasion, he referred to the indulgencies which his catholic subjects had received during his reign, as proofs of his attachment to the principles of a just and enlightened toleration; and it was hoped that the divisions, excited by the unnecessary agitation of a question of religious policy, would quickly pass away. He was so fully confident of the rectitude of his motives, that he had no doubt of the readiness of his people to support him in such an exercise of his prerogative, as was conformable to the sacred obligations under which he held his crown. Thus influenced, a dissolution was ordered, and the result was, an efficient majority in favour of the new ministers.

We must now revert to the campaign of 1806, which was equally fatal to the allies with that which preceded it, although still without subduing the spirit which was destined at last to check the gigantic tyranny of the ruler of France. On the contrary, one engagement is to be recorded, which afforded hopes that our own country, separated as we seem to be from the continental stage, was destined to perform a principal part in the liberation of Europe.

The success of Bonaparte's campaign against Austria emboldened him to issue a decree, declaring that the king of Naples had ceased to reign, or, in language less affected, but equally insolent, that he had thought proper to seize upon his dominions. A powerful

1806. French army now invaded Naples, and established his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the throne of that kingdom. The royal family, although compelled to retire to Palermo, endeavoured to make some attempts for the recovery of their dominions, and their principal reliance was placed on the English, who had some naval and military force in the neighbourhood. The former, directed for the relief of Sicily, was commanded by the gallant sir Sidney Smith, whose success in Egypt, in the last war, had divested him of the common opinion, now beginning to be entertained throughout Europe, that the French were invincible. Sir Sidney had a small squadron, with which he was enabled to throw relief into Gaeta, a fortress gallantly defended against the French by the prince of Hesse Philipsthal; and, by his subsequent movements, he spread considerable alarm along the shore. For this service, on his return to Palermo, his Sicilian majesty created sir Sidney viceroy of Calabria, with ample authority. Sir Sidney, however, soon perceiving that an effectual resistance could not be made to the enemy without the presence of an English force, induced sir John Stewart, who had the command of the troops in Sicily, to employ a part of his army to co-operate with the Calabrians. Sir John, accordingly, disembarked on the first of July, in the gulf of St. Euphemia, near the northern frontier of lower Calabria. He then, by proclamation, invited the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign, offering them arms and ammunition; but so few obeyed the summons, that he was doubting whether it would not be expedient to reimbark his troops; when he learned that the French general, Regnier, was encamped at Maida, ten miles distant, with an army nearly equal to his own, and was in daily expectation of reinforcements. Being determined to give battle, he advanced the next morning, July 4th, and found the French in a strong position below the village, with the river Lamato in front, and their flanks strengthened by a thick impervious underwood. As they had now received the expected reinforcements, their whole force amounted to 7000 men, while that of

the British did not exceed 4800. Regnier, confident in his superiority of numbers, with an affected contempt for the English, quitted his strong position, and descended to meet them on the plain. But this insolence was soon checked. "The prowess of the rival nations," as sir John emphatically observed in his despatches, "seemed now fairly to be at trial before the world." The English, surprised, but not dismayed, at the unexpected increase of Regnier's force, advanced with alacrity to the attack, which was commenced by their right. After some firing, both sides prepared for close combat: but the French, astonished at the firmness displayed by the English, gave way when the bayonets began to cross, betook themselves to flight, and in a short time were routed and dispersed with great slaughter. They made, indeed, an effort with their right to retrieve the honour of the day; but they were bravely and steadily resisted: their cavalry, in attempting to turn the left flank of the English, were thrown into disorder by an unexpected fire from the 20th regiment, which came up at this critical juncture; the rout now became general, and the whole French army precipitately abandoned the field, with the loss of about 700 men killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. Their total loss was estimated by sir John Stewart at not less than 4000 men, while the English had only 45 men killed, and 282 wounded. This brilliant action, although it did not lead to the recovery of Naples, served a yet more important purpose, by demonstrating that the English had nothing to fear from their French rivals, even with a superiority on the part of the latter; and I have been the more particular in the description of the battle of Maida, because it was the first decisive proof of this important fact. Others, as we proceed, will accumulate. Soon after, the fortress of Gaeta was compelled to surrender to the French; and, as their army was now reinforced by above 16,000 men, the English general saw it was impossible to attempt the recovery of Naples, which remained quietly for some time under the government of the usurper.

The court of Prussia had been accused of wavering

in its politics, and for this there was some apparent ground. In truth, the king of Prussia was desirous of peace and neutrality; but these were not compatible with the will of Bonaparte. He was sincerely desirous of engaging in the coalition against France; but the event of the battle of Austerlitz induced him to enter into a treaty with France, by which he was put in possession of the electorate of Hanover, at first, under the pretext of keeping the country in guard until the conclusion of a general peace; but by a subsequent treaty, signed in February, he was not only to annex Hanover to his dominions for ever, but in the mean time to exclude British vessels and commodities from all his ports. This was, in fact, compelling Prussia to commence hostilities with England; and the latter accordingly retaliated, by recalling her ambassador from Berlin, and ordering a blockade of all the ports connected with Prussia, and an embargo on all Prussian vessels in the British harbours. The king of Sweden, likewise, whose troops had been obliged by the Prussians to quit Lunenburg, ordered the same measures against the ships and ports of Prussia. Bonaparte had conceived a plan by which he might starve England into submission, since he could not conquer it, and that was by excluding her from the commerce of Europe. How little he knew of the genius of commerce will soon appear.

Prussia, as we have just noticed, was betrayed into an alliance with France, but almost immediately perceived that Bonaparte would not hesitate to sacrifice its interests to his own, and that he looked with contempt on any resentment which Prussia might show. This appeared by Bonaparte's diplomatic intrigues both with Great Britain and Russia, in the late negociations; and yet more by his plan of a new confederation, of which he was himself to be at the head, and which changed the whole political system of Germany, and obliged Francis to lay aside the title of emperor of Germany, yielding the precedence to France. The king of Prussia was led to acquiesce in this important change, (called the confederation of the Rhine,) in hopes of being permitted to form a confede-

racy in the north of Germany under his protection: but he was soon informed that he could not be allowed to include the Hanse towns in this confederacy, of which Bonaparte himself would be the protector; and also that he must use no compulsion to engage in it any independent princes against their inclination, which, it was hinted, was the case of the elector of Saxony.

Such contemptuous treatment induced the king of Prussia to enter into a war with France, with the assistance of the elector of Saxony and Russia; but the rapidity of Bonaparte's movements, who took the field in person, prevented the co-operation of the Russians. The French, in three divisions, marched in the autumn to meet the Prussians, who were defeated in a conflict at Schleitz, and afterwards more decidedly in the battles of Saalfield, Averstadt, and Jena; after which last Bonaparte entered Berlin, while the king, with a small remnant of his army, retired into East Prussia, the rest of his dominions being in the hands of the enemy. Nor were the French arms much less successful against the Russians, when they came in conflict; the battles of Pultusk and Eylau, although not decisive, terminating in favour of the superior numbers of the French.

Encouraged by uninterrupted success, Bonaparte set no bounds to his schemes of injustice and ambition. He first concluded a peace with the elector of Saxony, while he levied the severest contributions on his territories; and his general, Mortier, invaded the electorate of Hesse, expelled the elector, destroyed his fortresses, and disbanded his troops. Mortier also took possession of Hanover, and the house of Brunswick was declared to have lost the sovereignty of its ancestors. Hamburgh next fell a prey to French rapacity, as a part of the great design of excluding all British commerce from the continent. In November, Bonaparte published a decree at Berlin, prohibiting all commerce and correspondence, direct and indirect, between the British dominions and the countries subject to his rules. He vauntingly declared the British islands to be in a state of blockade; all subjects of

Great Britain found in countries occupied by the French troops, prisoners of war; all English property lawful prize, &c. It is unnecessary to specify the other conditions of this decree. Its absurdity soon appeared in his being the first to violate it, by permitting a commercial intercourse with Great Britain, when her commodities became necessary to him.

In the mean time he endeavoured to aggrandize his family, by placing them in situations where they might seem to be elevated, while they were in fact his vassals. His brother Joseph, as we have seen, he placed on the throne of Sicily. Forming the united provinces into a monarchy, he made his other brother, Louis, king of Holland. He procured the marriage of his step-son Eugene Beauharnais with a princess of Bavaria, and declared him his adopted son, and successor in the kingdom of Italy. His brother-in-law, Murat, he made duke of Berg, and, besides other promotions to his sister, uncle, &c., he created a number of duchies in favour of the civil and military officers who had distinguished themselves in his service, transmissible to their direct male descendants, in the manner of the feudal tenures under Charlemagne, whom he affected to imitate.

In the course of this year some naval actions took place, which confirmed the superiority of our marine, and added to the number of our captures. The most important acquisition to the British dominions was the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, by an armament of 5000 troops under sir David Baird, and a fleet commanded by sir Home Popham.

LETTER XCIX.

THE success of Bonaparte, at the battle of Eylau, inclined him to a peace with Russia, the only power he appears to have seriously dreaded; and he hoped that, if he could form an alliance with the Russian emperor, there would be no obstacle to his becoming the supreme arbiter of the fate of Europe. Alexander, how-

ever, determined to try the effect of another engagement, at least, if not an entire campaign. But the superior numbers of the French shortened the period. After some advantage gained by the Russians at Deppen, they were defeated with such loss at Heilsberg and Friedland, as to be obliged to solicit a truce; and, after frequent conferences at Tilsit, Alexander not only consented to a peace, but to a participation of advantages. Prussia was forced to cede large portions of territories both in Germany and Poland, some of which were incorporated with a new kingdom erected by Bonaparte in favour of his brother Jerome, and styled the kingdom of Westphalia. Warsaw was declared a duchy, and given to the elector of Saxony, also made a king. Alexander not only acknowledged these titles, but also the confederation of the Rhine, and had a donation of a part of Poland, wrested from Prussia. The king of Sweden only remained in hostility to France, but was obliged to retire with his army to the island of Rugen, and he was deprived of all his German dominions.

In this hopeless state of making any impression by arms on the continent, the attention of the English ministry appears to have been directed to other parts of the world, where advantages might be derived from expeditions composed of the army and navy. On the first day of the year, a conquest was made of the valuable Dutch island of Curaçoa: but the attempt on the Spanish colonies, begun in the preceding year, and carried on in the present, was not so successful. Sir Home Popham, after partaking in the capture of the Cape of Good Hope, sailed thence, and safely reached the entrance of the Rio de la Plata; and, after the slightest resistance, the inhabitants of the town of Buenos Ayres surrendered, and the captors took possession of a vast treasure, and a great quantity of merchandise. But the inhabitants were much divided, some being bigotted catholics, who disdained a government by heretics, and others being certainly tired of their own government, but aspiring to an independent state. Between them they raised a force, which obliged the British to capitulate; but, re- 1807.

inforcements arriving from the Cape, our army under sir Samuel Auchmuty took possession of Monte Video, which had been in vain attempted by sir Home Popham. The reduction of the whole province of Buenos Ayres might have followed; but the conduct of this expedition was unfortunately entrusted to lieutenant-general Whitelocke, whose talents were little fitted either for the business of commander or negociator. Having lost all the advantages we had gained in this quarter, he was ordered home, and tried by a court-martial, and declared unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity. In addition to this disappointment, great losses were sustained by commercial speculators, who had sent out vast quantities of goods on the first news of the capture of Buenos Ayres.

Another expedition was projected against the Porte, which had shewn evident partiality to the politics of France. Admiral Duckworth was sent with seven sail of the line, to force the Dardanelles, and bombard Constantinople, if the Turkish emperor did not separate his interests from those of France, and immediately surrender his ships of war. The British fleet accordingly passed the Dardanelles, but the weather being unfavourable, and the Turks contriving to protract the negociation until able to make a powerful resistance, it was thought adviseable to sail back to the Dardanelles, which was not accomplished without considerable loss. Nor was an attempt to dispossess the Turks of Egypt more successful. Our troops took Alexandria; but failed in an attempt on Rosetta, and soon after retired from Egypt.

A more important measure was now concerted in the British cabinet, in order to prevent Bonaparte from availing himself of any assistance from the navies of those continental powers who could no longer resist the most arrogant of his demands. With this view, a large armament proceeded to Copenhagen; the navy commanded by admiral Gambier, and the army by lord Cathcart. Previously to any hostile proceedings, Mr. Jackson was sent as ambassador to the court of Denmark, to propose the delivery of the Danish fleet to the British admiral, on a solemn assurance that it

should be restored at the conclusion of the war between Great Britain and France; and, in the mean time, an offer was made of naval, military, and pecuniary aid, and of a guaranty of all the possessions and dependencies of the crown. This step, it was stated, was undertaken entirely in self-defence, to prevent the resources of Denmark from being directed against Great Britain. The Danish government, not entering into this view of the matter, determined on resistance, and Copenhagen was, therefore, bombarded for four days; when, a considerable part of the city being consumed, and the conflagration threatening the speedy destruction of the rest, the general commanding the garrison sent out a flag of truce, desiring an armistice, to afford time to treat for a capitulation. The articles being soon settled, the British army took possession of the citadel and dock-yards, and the admiral prepared for the removal to England of the Danish fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, fifteen frigates, and some brigs and gun-boats. It was stipulated that, after the removal of the ships, or six weeks after the capitulation, the British troops should deliver up the citadel of Copenhagen, and evacuate Zealand. The Danes, however, were so irritated at the result of this expedition, that, immediately on the disappearance of the British fleet, they fitted out a number of armed vessels to make depredations on the English commerce; British property was confiscated, and all intercourse with Great Britain prohibited. The English, in the mean time, took possession of the small island of Heligoland, which proved a safe receptacle, at all seasons, for small vessels, and an entrance to all the rivers of that part of Germany. That Bonaparte should represent the attack upon Copenhagen in the most odious light, is not surprising; but that the emperor of Russia should issue a hostile declaration against it, and declare that he would never re-establish concord between the two nations till satisfaction should be given to Denmark, is not so easily explained. At home, the administration would have found much difficulty in defending this expedition, had not their opponents been at variance among them-

selves, while the majority of both houses of parliament considered that it was fully justified by the laws of nature and of nations, from which arose the right of providing for security. It was the evident intention of Bonaparte to take possession of the Danish navy, for purposes which any one might easily conjecture; and there could be no injustice in preventing intended mischief. It may be necessary to add, that the navy of Portugal would have been seized by the British, if the prince regent of that kingdom had not been persuaded to emigrate to Brazil. He had, for some years, paid a subsidy to France, to avoid all concern in the war; but when he found his realm threatened with a formidable invasion, if he would not become an enemy to Great Britain, he set sail with twelve ships of the line, escorted by a British fleet, and fixed his residence at Rio de Janeiro. Portugal was quickly after subdued by the French, who cruelly tyrannized over the natives;—their invariable practice, while obeying the orders of Bonaparte.

Another provision, which it became necessary for the British government to make, was directed against Bonaparte's Berlin decree, in which he declared Great Britain in a state of blockade. To counteract this, a British order of council was issued, which prohibited the trade of neutrals from any one port to another, both being in the possession of France or her allies. This was ably defended in parliament, but not without producing much spirited and acrimonious discussion, and the order was finally modified so as to lessen the injustice which it was supposed might accompany the literal execution of it.

LETTER C.

AMONG the measures debated in parliament, during the last session, was that for providing, by an increase of the militia, a large disposable force that might be sent against the enemy; and the time was now arrived when the valour of the British troops was

to be proved on the continent, in a manner the most honourable and decisive to the British character. The ambition of the ruler of France, we have already had occasion to remark, was as unprincipled as it was insatiable. There was in it no mixture of greatness or wisdom; and the scheme he now had invented for the subjugation of Spain was more singularly marked by shameless and flagitious art than any similar event which occurs in history. Spain, it might have been thought, had shewn a sufficient degree of subserviency to Bonaparte: but he was not to be satisfied with the most liberal concessions, while any thing remained which he could demand. He had already obtained possession of the capital of Portugal, and now coveted the throne of Spain, partly that he might add to his resources by its riches, and partly that he might enrich his relations by its honours. I am not writing the history of Spain, and must, therefore, refer you to other sources of information as to the means which he at first employed to sow the seeds of animosity and sedition among the royal family of Spain. Suffice it to say, that he amused the king and his minister with a treaty for the partition of Portugal, such as, he said, might bid defiance to all the power of Great Britain; and, having very easily obtained permission for a French army to enter Spain, he immediately took possession of its most important fortresses. His next object was the seizure or expulsion of the king: but this monarch, unfit, certainly, to interfere between the inexorable despotism of Bonaparte and the rage of his own subjects, who had risen against his minister, resigned his authority, and his eldest son was raised to the throne by the title of Ferdinand VII. It was now that Bonaparte more openly interfered, representing the abdication of the king as an act of compulsion, and requiring king Ferdinand to resign the crown, not to his father, Charles, but in his own name and that of his family, in favour of the dynasty of Bonaparte. In consequence of this strange revolution, Joseph Bonaparte was transferred from the throne of Naples to

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that of Spain, while the old royal family was carried, for security, into the interior of France.

In the course of these unprincipled proceedings, a dreadful massacre was perpetrated at Madrid, by the troops under the French general Murat, who was afterwards placed on the throne of Naples: but still this did not reduce the nation to subjection. As soon as the captivity of the royal family was known, a settled purpose of resistance to French usurpation was declared, and extended from one extremity of Spain to the other. Provincial juntas or councils were established in various parts of the kingdom, centering in what was termed the supreme junta, at Seville. By this last, Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king, and war was declared against France. Deputies were soon sent over to London, soliciting the aid and friendship of this country; and never was any foreign interest adopted by Great Britain with more ardour. Peace with Spain was proclaimed on July the 1st; the Spanish prisoners were released, clothed, and sent to join their countrymen; and arms, ammunition, and money, were liberally granted. Portugal, likewise, declared her own independence, and made common cause with Spain; and, on the 14th of July, a league, offensive and defensive, between the two nations, was signed at Oporto, in the names of king Ferdinand and the prince regent of Portugal.

Various engagements now took place between the patriotic forces and the French generals, who were defeated with great loss; and the appearance of affairs became so menacing to the invaders, who never before had to contend with an armed nation, that, in the end of July, the French, with king Joseph, began to evacuate Madrid. On this occasion, the usurper demonstrated his meanness by the plunder he carried with him of the crown-jewels, plate, and all the valuables in the royal palaces.

While these events took place in Spain, the forces of Great Britain began to bear a leading part in assisting the people of Portugal, who had taken up arms in the patriotic cause, and whose sufferings under the

tyranny of France had excited in their minds no common portion of hostility. Recourse having been had to England for succour, sir Arthur Wellesley arrived with 10,000 men at Oporto. Having consulted with sir C. Cotton, who commanded the fleet off Lisbon, respecting the propriety of forcing the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the vicinity of the capital, this gallant officer landed his troops in Mondego Bay, where he was joined by about 6000 men under general Spencer. Directing his march on the road to Lisbon, he attacked and defeated a French corps, commanded by general Laborde, at Roleia, or Rolica, and then proceeded to Lourinha, to favour the landing of a reinforcement of 5000 men, under general Anstruther. Junot, the French commander-in-chief at Lisbon, now marched on, with nearly the whole of his force, to attack the British, before they should be joined by a more considerable reinforcement under sir John Moore. In consequence of this movement, a battle was fought, on August the 21st, at VIMIERA, in which the French were entirely defeated, with the loss of thirteen pieces of cannon, and about 3000 men, in killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. The British army then moved to Cintra, where, on the 22d, sir Hugh Dalrymple arrived from Gibraltar, to take the command in chief of the British troops; and, soon after, a flag of truce was sent by Junot, proposing a cessation of hostilities, in order to settle a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal. This being consented to, the convention was signed on the 30th. The principal articles were, that the French troops in Portugal, with their arms and equipments, should, at the expense of the English government, be disembarked in France, and not considered as prisoners of war, and that they should be secured in all their private property of every description: also, that the Spanish troops detained as prisoners on board ship, in the Tagus, should be delivered to the British commander-in-chief, who engaged to obtain from the Spaniards the restoration of the French subjects detained in Spain, without having been taken in battle. This, which was called the convention of Cintra, oc-

casioned great dissatisfaction at home, and even his majesty was pleased to express his disapprobation of it in a communication which he caused to be made to sir Hugh Dalrymple. After such a victory as that of Vimiera, the people had been taught to expect the unconditional surrender of the French army in Portugal: nor were the Portuguese and Spanish patriots much less dissatisfied with an arrangement, which, to say the least, was hasty and injudicious. Another convention at this time was more satisfactory. This was concluded between sir Charles Cotton and the Russian vice-admiral, Siniavin; by the terms of which the Russian ships lying in the Tagus, amounting to nine of the line, were surrendered with their stores, to be sent to England, and held as a deposit, till after a definitive peace between Russia and Great Britain. The British admiral also allowed the Russian sailors a safe conveyance to their own country. This might be accounted a lenient measure; but it appeared as if the English were insensibly led to avoid unnecessarily irritating a monarch whom they could not believe sincere in his amity with France, and who was one day to prove the most formidable ally of Great Britain in destroying the usurper.

Bonaparte, however, was not of this opinion: he imagined that he had fully persuaded Alexander to a participation of all his schemes; and, in order to confirm his support, he invited him to an interview at Erfort, where he endeavoured to amuse him by disclosing his mighty plans, and asserting the facility with which they might be accomplished. In this he succeeded so far as to obtain a joint co-operation of the Russian emperor to a sort of proposition for peace, presented to the court of St. James's. It was a common trick with Bonaparte to offer such propositions just before he set out, to render his wars of ambition more destructive: and in these cases his language was artfully frank, and apparently sincere: but his offers were generally coupled with some article which he knew could not be accepted. Such was the case here; for while he proposed the immediate appointment of persons to negociate upon the principles of justice and

equity, he refused to regard the Spaniards in any other light than as insurgents, and would not admit them as a party to any negociation. This was of course rejected by the court of St. James's; and Bonaparte, on his return from Erfort, made a speech to his legislative body, in which he declared that the emperor of Russia and he were unchangeably united both for peace and war; that he was satisfied with the sentiments of the confederacy of the Rhine and the people of Italy; and that he was going to place himself at the head of his army, to crown his brother in Madrid, and take possession of the fortresses of Portugal.

For these purposes he ordered a levy of 160,000 conscripts; and, having put his veteran troops in motion for Spain, proceeded to Bayonne, and thence to the headquarters of the French army at Vittoria. As the Spaniards had few regular troops to oppose an army commanded by such experienced generals, their chief resistance was made by their armed population; but the results of the campaign were, as might be expected, highly unfavourable. The French appeared before Madrid on Nov. 1, and the Spanish troops having evacuated it on the 4th, the French entered the capital next day. An ineffectual attempt had been made for its relief by the British allies. Sir John Moore, who succeeded to the chief command of the English troops, advanced to Salamanca in November, but found that, in consequence of the superiority which the French had acquired, a timely retreat was the only measure in his power; and, as sir David Baird was advancing to join him with a reinforcement from Corunna, sir John desired him to proceed from that place, and meet him at Lisbon. Subsequent information, and some remonstrances of Mr. Frere, the English minister at Madrid, induced him almost immediately to change this arrangement, and having joined sir David Baird, to make an attack upon the French marshal Soult; but receiving advice that the French had been powerfully reinforced, he again determined on a retreat. This wavering and irresolute conduct produced disastrous effects. The English troops crossed the Esla, hastened to Astorga, and, in consequence of the last intelli-

gence, which even intimated that Bonaparte was on the advance, fled to the defiles of Villa-Franca. It became now very difficult to preserve subordination in their march, some hundreds having dispersed themselves; while many were overwhelmed with fatigue, and many cut off by their pursuers. About 3000, who were sent to the coast by a different route, reached Vigo in safety, while the rest of the army arrived at Corunna, on January 11th. It was followed
1809. to that place by Soult, who occupied an extensive line above the town, in readiness to make an attack as soon as the troops should begin to embark. This occurred on the 16th, when the French descended from the heights in four columns, two of which directed their march on the right wing of the British, which was very disadvantageously posted. Sir John Moore hastened to this part of the field, where the 4th regiment on the right flank was menaced by a body of the enemy, who were hastening up the valley to turn it. Half of this regiment falling back, so as to form an obtuse angle with the other half, commenced a heavy flanking fire, which manœuvre was highly applauded by the commander. He proceeded to direct the movements of the other regiments in this division, and was in the act of ordering up the guards to support the 42d Highlanders, when he was struck from his horse by a cannon-ball, which carried away his left shoulder, and part of the collar-bone, leaving his arm hanging by the flesh. He was wrapped in a blanket, and borne away by six soldiers of the 42d. Sir David Baird, whose arm was shattered by a grape-shot, had already quitted the field. The troops, however, still continued to fight with great bravery under sir John Hope, on whom the command devolved, and at night-fall remained masters of the field. This victory was obtained under great disadvantages: the French exceeded 20,000 men, well appointed and provided with cannon; while the British scarcely amounted to 15,000, exhausted by harassing marches, and grieved by the loss of their military chest, their stores, their baggage, their horses, their sick, their wounded, their wives and children. Their artillery was already embarked. A

victory achieved under such privations, and such disadvantages, was, however, the earnest of future triumphs when the conflict was upon more equal terms.

General Moore lived to hear that the battle was won, and, in his last moments, expressed a hope that his country would do him justice. His body was removed at midnight to the citadel of Corunna, wrapped in a military cloak and blankets, and buried in a grave dug on the ramparts. The embarkation was continued during the night: and next morning little remained, except the rear-guard under general Beresford, and the reserve under general Hill. The French pushed on their light troops to some heights commanding the harbour, and began to fire on the shipping. Several of the masters of the transports cut their cables; and four of the vessels ran aground; but the men on board were speedily removed to other ships, and the stranded vessels burnt. During the night of the 17th, and the following morning, the sick and wounded, who could bear removal, were embarked, and the rear-guard followed without interruption. Corunna capitulated soon after the departure of the army. This expedition, although unsuccessful as to its original plan, had the good effect of drawing off the attention of the French emperor from the south of Spain, which at that time lay entirely open to his enterprises.

Although the battle of Corunna belongs to the year 1809, a few events yet remain to be noticed as belonging to the preceding year, and with these I shall conclude the present letter.

The king of Sweden, who had joined in alliance with Great Britain, resolved to keep his engagements with the strictest honour; but his resources were insufficient, and not employed in the most prudent manner. Having provoked the hostility of Russia, a Russian army entered Finland before a declaration of war: but this measure was soon proclaimed by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark. England, not unmindful of her ally, dispatched a squadron to join the Swedish ships in guarding the passage of the Sound, and a body of troops was in readiness for affording assistance by land. This last consisted of 10,000, under sir John Moore, which

arrived at Gottenburg in May; but finding it impossible to join with the king in his plans, which were contrary to his orders, sir John was obliged to bring back his troops without landing them. In the mean time, the Russians took possession of Abo, the capital of Finland, and declared its annexation to the Russian empire. The strong fortress of Sweaborg also surrendered to the Russians; and, by an armistice, agreed upon in September, they became possessed of the greatest part of Finland, the granary of the kingdom.

In the same spirit of unprincipled aggrandizement which had hitherto distinguished the ruler of France, he annexed to his empire the towns of Kehl, Wesel, Cassel, and Flushing, and issued a decree that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be united with the kingdom of Italy; and soon after ordered a farther annexation of Parma, Placentia, and Tuscany. It was in vain that the pope protested against the invasion of his see, and that the whole catholic world felt the oppression and indignity. We have already noticed that the tyrant had placed his brother-in-law, Murat, on the throne of Naples, on the translation of king Joseph to the throne of Spain. In the course of this year, Louis XVIII. of France, and his queen, with the late king's daughter, the duchess of Angouleme, took refuge in England. Louis was not recognised as king, but passed under the title of the count de Lille, and was every where received with the respect due to his rank and misfortunes.

LETTER CI.

THE late campaigns in Spain and Portugal became
1809. the frequent subjects of discussion in the parliament, which opened on January 19, and although a party in each house despaired of the successful issue of the war, and some even treated with contempt the hopes of making an effectual stand against the enemy of the liberty and independence of Europe, the majority still supported the administration in voting large

additions of men and money to assist our allies; and joined his majesty in expressing his satisfaction with the achievements of our forces in Portugal, and the liberation of that country from the French.

It is, indeed, principally to Portugal that we are to look for any relief from the vast extension of Bonaparte's military despotism. The Spanish troops and their allies, although they made, on various occasions, a noble stand against their invaders, were upon the whole so unsuccessful during this year, that, at the close of it, Spain had scarcely an invested fortress not in the hands of the enemy, or an army remaining in the field. It belongs to the history of that nation to detail all the disastrous circumstances of the campaign: but it may yet be mentioned, that the national spirit remained unbroken, and promised a species of harassing resistance to which the French had not been accustomed, and which irritated their commanders to such a degree, that, forgetting the legitimate retaliation of civilized warfare, they revenged themselves on the conquered with the most savage barbarity.

In Portugal, the English troops had another opportunity of convincing the French that their boasted invincibility was no longer to be depended on. Marshal Soult, of whom we shall often hear, entered Portugal at Braga, and took possession of Oporto, on March 29th, after a resistance of two days only. On April 22d, sir Arthur Wellesley landed at Lisbon, with a reinforcement, and advanced against that city; while marshal Beresford, at the head of a body of Portuguese, disciplined in the English manner, marched to the Upper Douro. Soult immediately quitted Oporto, and retreated through the province of Leon, leaving his rear-guard upon the Douro. Sir Arthur Wellesley was pursuing him, when he heard that the Spanish general Cuesta was defeated by the French at Medellin on the Guadiana. Sir Arthur, therefore, after remaining some time at Lisbon, formed a junction with Cuesta, who had repaired his losses, and proceeded with him along the valley of the Tagus. Here the French general Victor, who had just defeated Cuesta, had been joined by general Sebastiani, with a

reinforcement from Madrid, brought by king Joseph. Their force was posted near TALAVERA la Reyna, amounting to 47,000 men: the allies were more numerous; but the chief dependence was on the English troops. In the afternoon of July 27th, the French crossed the Alberche, and cannonaded the left of the British position, commanded by a height, on which was stationed a division of infantry under major-general Hill. The French cavalry at the same time attacked the Spanish infantry, and attempted to gain the town of Talavera; but they met with a brave resistance, and were finally repulsed. At nine in the evening the action ceased; but Victor ordered a night-attack to be made on the height occupied by general Hill, and had gained a momentary possession, when the gallant general recovered it at the point of the bayonet. A similar attempt, renewed at midnight, was equally unsuccessful; but a desultory engagement continued during the night. Whole battalions of the French ventured into the English line, some crying out that they were Spaniards, and some that they were German deserters; but they soon had occasion to repent of this paltry manœuvre.

At day-break, on the 28th, the French again attacked general Hill's position, which they had all along considered as of the first importance, but were again repulsed. At noon, after both armies had quietly partaken of refreshment on the field, Victor ordered a general attack along the whole line, and directed his own three divisions against general Hill's position; but, being driven back, their retrograde movement exposed Sebastiani's right, which suffered severely. It being perceived that they again rallied, and were reinforced, general Anson's brigade, consisting of the 1st German light dragoons, and the 23d dragoons, with general Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to charge them. This was the hottest part of the engagement. In this charge the British suffered dreadfully, the 23d dragoons being almost annihilated; but they succeeded in deterring the enemy from any farther attempt on the hill. The attack upon the centre, which commenced at the same time, was gallantly

resisted by general Campbell, supported by the Spaniards, who turned the flank of the assailants, while the English took their cannon. General Sherbroke repelled the force opposed to him by a charge of bayonets from the whole division: but the brigade of guards advancing too far, exposed themselves to the fire of the hostile batteries and retiring columns. At this important moment, sir Arthur Wellesley secured the victory, by moving from the heights the battalion of the 48th, which, with the assistance of Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to retreat under cover. At the close of the day, the enemy were repulsed at all points, and effectually defeated. It is supposed that about 10,000 of the French were killed or wounded in this memorable contest, and the official returns stated that 5350 of the British were killed, wounded, or missing. Never was the military honour of Great Britain supported with more effect; for the far greater part of Cuesta's army had no concern in the battle.

The day after this engagement, the British army received reinforcements from Lisbon, sufficient to repair its late loss; but further success was impeded by the misconduct of the supreme junta, and of the Spanish general. The latter, after making some unreasonable proposals to sir Arthur Wellesley, resigned the command of the army; and,on the 3d of August, the British army marched to Oropesa, and, finding that a strong hostile force was interposed between that place and Almarez, crossed the Tagus next day over the bridge of Arzobispo, and continued its route to Badajoz. The campaign was now concluded; and, about this time, the marquis Wellesley arrived at Cadiz as ambassador to the Spanish government, where he endeavoured to enforce the necessity of a more efficient administration, a wiser application of the public resources, and, what was above all wanted, a reform of the whole military system.

Although the principal fortresses of Spain had fallen into the hands of the French, they found considerable difficulty in maintaining their garrisons, owing to an incessant and destructive warfare carried on by the

armed peasantry of Spain against their convoys, detachments, and outposts. In Catalonia, they were so harassed by this *guerilla* system, as it was called, that they found it extremely difficult to victual their garrison at Barcelona. About the middle of October they made an attempt to introduce supplies by sea. On intelligence of this, lord Collingwood sailed from Minorca, and took his station off Cape St. Sebastian, on the coast of Catalonia. On the 23d, the French squadron, of three ships of the line, two frigates, two armed storeships, and a convoy of sixteen sail, appeared in sight. Rear-admiral Martin was ordered to give chase: he fell in with the ships of war off the entrance of the Rhone, but, as the wind blew directly on shore, they eluded him. On the following day he drove two of them, one of eighty, and the other of seventy-four guns on shore off Frontignan, where they were burnt by their own crews; the other ships of the line and one frigate ran on shore at the entrance of the port of Cette; and by subsequent manœuvres the whole of this equipment were captured or destroyed. This success was reckoned of considerable importance, as it demonstrated the effective aid which might be derived from the British navy in the defence of the peninsula.

While the French were thus employed in Spain and Portugal, it appeared a favourable opportunity for the emperor of Austria to render himself independent of the tyranny he suffered by his last treaty with Bonaparte. He had now seen, by the conduct of Bonaparte in Spain and Italy, that his ambition was either insatiable, or that nothing less than the entire subjugation of Europe could satisfy him. The Austrian emperor had given proof of his alienation from the French interests, by causing his internuncio at Constantinople to assist the English minister in his negociation for peace with the Porte. He then ordered levies throughout the Austrian dominions, and reinforcements of the frontier garrisons. An army of about 300,000 men took the field under the emperor, and the archdukes Charles, Lewis, and Ferdinand. On the 20th and 22d of April, the battles of Abersberg and Eckmul were fought; the former by Bonaparte in person, in

which, according to the French accounts, the Austrians had 40,000 men taken prisoners, with an hundred pieces of cannon. The city of Ratisbon was next taken by the French, who, pushing forward, with Bonaparte at their head, entered Vienna on May 10, the emperor having withdrawn to Znaim. On the 21st, a battle was fought at Aspern, between the archduke Charles and the French, in which the latter lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, about 30,000 men; the severest check which the victorious career of Bonaparte had yet received. The subsequent battle of Wagram, however, decided the war; having, according to the French accounts, reduced the Austrian army to 60,000 men. This memorable battle was fought on the 6th of July; and, on the 12th, Bonaparte accepted proposals for an armistice, and peace between Austria and France was signed at Vienna on October 15th. The conditions were sufficiently humiliating to the emperor Francis. By these he ceded to the French all those parts of his territory which touched upon the Adriatic; cessions were also required of him of portions of territory to the Rhenish confederacy, the king of Saxony, and the emperor of Russia: he was also obliged to recognise all the kings of Bonaparte's creation, and to accede to all the alterations he had made, or should hereafter make, in Spain, Portugal, and Italy. He also concurred in the prohibitory system with respect to English commerce, and agreed to break off all intercourse with Great Britain. This last, indeed, was a *sine qua non* in all Bonaparte's treaties of peace; for the subjugation of Europe itself was not so near his heart as the destruction of this country.

During the Austrian war, sir John Stuart, commander of the British army in Sicily, undertook an expedition against the kingdom and capital of Naples, in order to make a diversion in favour of Austria. On the 13th of June, sir John appeared off the coast of Calabria, with 15,000 English troops, and compelled the enemy to abandon a line of posts on the shore, which were dismantled by a detachment under lieutenant-colonel Smith. On the 24th, the advanced

division of the fleet anchored off Cape Miseno: in the following week the garrisons of Ischa and Procida surrendered, and forty gun-boats were captured on their passage from Gaeta to Naples; but that capital being in a formidable state of defence, the commander did not risk a descent, but returned with his fleet and army to Sicily. An unsuccessful attempt was made on the castle of Scylla, which was afterwards abandoned and blown up by the enemy. The whole result, however, of this enterprise was a loss to the enemy of more than 1500 prisoners, besides killed and wounded, and of nearly a hundred pieces of ordnance, at a small expense to the victors, who had also the satisfaction of witnessing that it had operated as a diversion; the enemy having ordered the recall of a great body of troops, which had been detached as a reinforcement to the army of upper Italy, and of those sent into the Roman states.

An expedition of greater importance, and unfortunately more unsuccessful, had for some time engrossed the public attention at home, and the British ministry appears to have placed considerable reliance on it, although it is said not to have been entertained in the cabinet with perfect unanimity. From the beginning of May, preparations were made for fitting out the greatest armament that had yet issued from our ports; and, about the end of July, an army of 40,000 men was collected, to be assisted by a fleet of thirty-nine sail of the line, and thirty-six frigates, besides numerous gun-boats, &c. The command of the army was given to the earl of Chatham, and that of the navy to sir Richard Strachan. The principal object of this vast expedition was to gain possession of the islands commanding the entrance of the Scheldt, and especially the port of Flushing, and to destroy the French men of war in that river, with the dock-yards and arsenals, on which great labour had been bestowed, as an essential part of Napoleon's project for contending on equal terms with the navy of England. Contrary to all experience, and all advice, when he chose to ask advice of his naval officers, this had always been a favourite project with him. To put an end to all his hopes in

this quarter, was undoubtedly an object which justified the preparations now made; and although their failure was a subject on which men of party-spirit delighted to dwell, there is no proof that that failure was owing to misconduct.

The armament sailed on July 28th, and on the 1st of August invested Flushing, which, after a dreadful cannonade and bombardment, surrendered on the 15th, when 6000 men were made prisoners of war. The siege had, however, unfortunately lasted so long, as to give an opportunity for a great number of the enemy's troops to assemble for the defence of Antwerp, where the fleet lay under its fortifications. This rendered an attack too unpromising to be hazarded. The forts, likewise, higher up on the Scheldt, had been put into such a state of defence, that an attempt to pass them by our men of war would have probably been attended with great loss. But what contributed most to the failure of the expedition, was the sickly state of our troops stationed in the low and marshy lands of the islands of Walcheren and South-Beveland, and at the most unhealthy season of the year. Those circumstances induced lord Chatham to depart for England on September 14th, with the greatest part of his army: the remainder were left to keep possession of Walcheren, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt, and affording an inlet for the British commerce into Holland, where the people were disposed to admit colonial and other commodities.

The command of the army now devolved upon sir Eyre Coote; but, at the departure of lord Chatham, the sick-list amounted to 8000, and was daily increasing. This calamity demanded the immediate relinquishment of the conquest; but the ministry were induced by the emperor of Austria to continue for some time the operations in Holland, as the quarter in which a diversion might be most efficaciously made in his favour. Labourers were accordingly employed in repairing the ramparts of Flushing; but the result of better information and wiser counsels, was, that Flushing should be evacuated, and the basin and naval defences of the island be destroyed. This being ac-

complished, on the 23d of December, Walcheren was completely evacuated by the relics of the British army, nearly one half of which was either dead, or on the sick-list.

The public hopes suffered undoubtedly a bitter disappointment, and the plan and execution of this expedition occasioned much censure in parliament; but, in other quarters, the arms and counsels of Great Britain were attended with greater success. In January, a treaty of peace was signed between the Ottoman Porte and England; and, in the same month, the French colony of Cayenne, and in February the island of Martinique, were added to the British dominions. In April, three French ships of the line and one of 56 guns were set on fire and destroyed by lord Cochrane: and, in July, the city of St. Domingo, in the Spanish part of that island, of which the French were in possession, submitted, without resistance, to a force from Jamaica, under the command of major-general Carmichael; and in the same month the French settlement of Senegal capitulated to major Maxwell, of the African corps. Lord Collingwood, who was at this time commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, in concert with sir J. Stuart, conducted an expedition against the islands of Zante, Cephalonia, and others; while the French were occupied in the defence of Naples: and, on December 2, all that group of islands surrendered to the British arms. When taken from the French by the Russians, in 1800, they had been formed into a republic, called the republic of the Seven Islands, and recognized as such by the treaty of Amiens, which mode of government was now restored.

LETTER CII.

DURING the following year, the French ruler was amply gratified by the success of his arms in Spain, the independence of which seemed almost hopeless. The Spaniards had now no force left in the least able to contend with the enemy in the

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field; and Sebastiani, by the conquest of Malaga, was enabled to complete a line of posts from the Bay of Biscay to the Mediterranean, which intersected the whole of Spain, through its capital. The Cortes, indeed, or ancient parliament of Spain, had assembled, and drew up the form of a constitution, at the head of which was placed Ferdinand VII, their imprisoned monarch; and, in the mean time, an executive council of three members was nominated in the room of the old regency. To these proceedings the French appear to have paid little attention. With them, possessed as they were of the chief cities and fortresses of Spain, a more important object was the possession of Portugal. This was entrusted by Bonaparte to marshal Massena, on whom he had great reliance. The army to be commanded by him amounted to 80,000 men, and with this he at first succeeded in reducing the strong fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida; but he had still to contend with sir Arthur Wellesley, (now lord Wellington, a title justly conferred upon him by his sovereign, after the battle of Talavera,) who defeated his measures with a skill and spirit with which Massena seemed utterly unacquainted. Lord Wellington had found it adviseable to retire from Badajoz, in December, to the north of the Tagus. In February, the English and Portuguese were posted at a number of different points in Portugal and its frontier, on the side of Spain; and, during March and April, the commander's head-quarters were chiefly at Viseu. After the surrender of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, his lordship concentrated the different divisions of the combined army, and began his retreat towards Lisbon. He had formed a defensive plan, to which he steadily adhered, avoiding general actions, but taking every opportunity of retarding the enemy's advance, by occupying strong positions. Massena's army was far superior to that of the allies; but lord Wellington succeeded in rendering all the country in the line of march entirely inhospitable to the French, by stripping it of all its inhabitants, with the whole of their moveable property, the rest being destroyed. In this

the inhabitants, knowing what they had to expect from their invaders, cheerfully assisted; breaking up bridges, destroying mills, and laying all waste. While, therefore, the English and Portuguese, in their retreat, suffered no privation, Massena had to advance through a wilderness; complaining that women, children, and old men, all fled before him, and that not even a guide was to be procured. In the town of Celorico he found only two inhabitants, and nothing but bare walls. His aim was to make himself master of Coimbra and its fertile district, for the refreshment of his exhausted army; and with this view he crossed and re-crossed the Mondego: but lord Wellington still interposed, and, on September 26th, posted his army on the ridge of the Serra de BUSACO. Massena, by turning the left of the position, might have reached Coimbra by a circuitous route, but he determined to give battle. At six in the morning of the 27th, he ordered two attacks to be made, one to the right, and the other to the left, of the highest point of this steep and rugged mountain of Busaco. One division of the French infantry advanced to the top of the ridge, and was driven back with the bayonet: another division farther on the right was repulsed on the ascent. Of three divisions, which made the attack on the left, only one advanced toward the summit, when it was charged with the bayonet, and driven down with immense loss. In this action the Portuguese troops behaved so gallantly, that the French general, Junot, said that lord Wellington had adopted the stratagem of disguising Englishmen in Portuguese uniforms. The loss of the allies in this action was 197 killed, 1005 wounded, and 57 prisoners: the French left 2000 dead on the field, and lost 287 prisoners; among whom were general Simon, three colonels, and thirty-three officers. Such experience of Anglo-Portuguese bravery induced them, although their force was so greatly superior, to decline any renewal of the attack, and to take the circuitous road to Coimbra. Lord Wellington withdrew from Busaco, and moved to the south of the Mondego, with the whole army, excepting the advanced guard, which remained in Coimbra, to give

time for the inhabitants to remove themselves and their effects, which they accomplished, so as to leave very little that could be of use to the invaders. Lord Wellington, continuing his retreat, fell back upon Leiria, while general Hill, with his corps, retired by way of Espinhal upon Thomar. The army halted on the 4th of October. In the mean time, Massena, leaving his sick at Coimbra, advanced in pursuit of the allies. In his march he found himself harassed in the rear by the militia, and skirmishing in front with parties of the confederates; and, after reaching Sobral, had the mortification to observe the almost impregnable position which lord Wellington had chosen for the defence of Portugal. In this the new lines were so arranged and adjusted, as only to be assailable in the front, while the defenders enjoyed the command of the sea and the Tagus, by which the form of a peninsula is given to the tract of country extending on both sides from Lisbon to Alhandra, and to the mouth of the Zizandra, and crossing the province by the way of Torres-Vedras. It was remarked, that while nature drew the rude outline of a strong defensive position, a skilful adaptation of the labours of the engineer rendered it impregnable. Chagrined and confounded as the French commander was, he risked some partial conflicts, where the works were thinly scattered, but never ventured a general attack. He contented himself with extending his quarters, and seeking the means of sustenance: his detached parties sometimes found hoards of corn and other supplies; and, when straggling peasants were discovered, they were barbarously tortured, to make them disclose where commodities were hid. During this difficulty of obtaining provisions, a reinforcement arrived from Spain, and increased the necessity for the most rigid economy, and even abstinence; the English, without suffering any of these privations, resumed their defensive position, and bade defiance to the power of France, which was triumphant in every other quarter of the continent.

The mind of Bonaparte, hitherto occupied by universal empire, seemed now to turn upon personal ag-

grandizement, which he endeavoured to promote with the same contempt for the laws of justice and equity, that had been so visible in his transactions with independant states. In the end of last year he assembled the different members of his family, and the officers of state, to whom he represented the necessity of dissolving his union with his wife, Josephine, and of providing, by another marriage, an heir to the throne. Josephine being obliged to express her acquiescence, the act of divorce was confirmed by the senate. It may be asked, as Bonaparte hypocritically professed the religion of France, where was the consent of the head of the church to such a proceeding? The head of the church was no more. The pope had taken upon him to excommunicate Bonaparte for having annexed the papal territories to his dominions; and Bonaparte, in return, ordered the pope to Avignon as a prisoner, stripped him of his external dignity, excluded him from all communication with his cardinals, and deprived him of the means of issuing bulls, or assembling a council. By this he was relieved from the necessity of requesting a sanction for the act he was now meditating, which he was well aware must have been refused.

In providing himself with an empress, he showed sufficient respect to public opinion as not to raise any low-born woman to that honour. He, therefore, solicited and received the hand of the archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the emperor of Austria. Reflections on this additional humiliation to that illustrious family are unnecessary. The marriage, which took place in March, was universally regarded, in a moral view, as adulterous; and, in a political view, as most unwise. But for all this Bonaparte entertained a sovereign contempt. He was now, or imagined himself, at the head of all military power, and he proceeded in his schemes of national and personal aggrandizement, unmoved by rational or solid principles. Soon after his marriage, he ordered his brother Louis, one of the most moderate of the family, to quit his throne, and then he united Holland to France. The Hanse-towns and the Valais shared the same

honour; the latter by the name of the department of Simplon. Hanover he annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, governed by his brother Jerome. Part of the Tyrol, which had formerly been given to the king of Bavaria, he now declared part of the kingdom of Italy, and called it the department of the Upper Adige. The Roman states were divided into two departments of the same kingdom, and called Rome and Thrasimene.

While Bonaparte was thus capriciously changing the establishments of Europe, he reserved his severer acts of tyranny for his more immediate subjects. His decrees against commerce were enforced with unprecedented cruelty. Dealers in prohibited goods were branded in the forehead, and condemned to hard labour for ten years: the prohibited goods were burnt, and the piles of merchandise thus destroyed in the public squares, were recorded in the French journals as so many triumphs over the trade of Great Britain. The impolicy of these violent measures was so glaring, that it drew forth a remonstrance from Fouché, the minister of police, who was, in consequence, sent into exile as governor of Rome. In truth, this impolicy was not more glaring than its absurdity; for Bonaparte knew that he could not do without part of the trade of Great Britain, and that at this very time his troops were clothed with the manufactures of Yorkshire. It was, however, a principal object with him that his subjects should have no access to truth; and for that purpose the liberty of the press was totally destroyed; while in Paris a regulation was established, which enabled the minister of police to extend his inquisition into private families. One revolution only took place on the continent, in which it does not appear that Bonaparte had any direct influence. The Swedish king, Gustavus, had been dethroned by his subjects for incapacity and other charges, into the truth of which it is perhaps too early to inquire. The duke of Sudermania was elected in his room, by the name of Charles XIII. He being advanced in years, and without children, proposed that a successor should be nominated. The diet accordingly chose Charles Augustus, prince

of Augustenburg, a subject of Denmark; but he expired a short time after, on May 29th; and in August the states again assembled for the election of a successor, when the candidates were, the eldest son of the late Gustavus, the prince of Holstein, the king of Denmark, and the French marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, a man of humble origin, and known to the nation only as one of Bonaparte's officers. This last, to the astonishment of all Europe, was elected; and, after being installed crown prince in November, issued a decree of non-intercourse with Great Britain, and, by declaring the adherence of Sweden to the continental system, joined in the war against her. But this appears to have been done under French influence, and effected no perceptible change in the relations of the two countries. Their interests were in some respects mutual: Sweden required support against Russia, and England felt the importance of maintaining so strong a barrier in the north.

The British arms met with uninterrupted success this year against the colonial and insular possessions of the enemy. In the West-Indies, Guadaloupe surrendered to a combined force under the gallant sir George Beckwith and admiral sir Alexander Cochrane; a conquest which was followed by the reduction of the islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatius. In the Mediterranean, some troops under brigadier-general Oswald, aided by the Magnificent ship of war, commanded by captain Eyre, carried the fortress of the Ionian Island of St. Maura, and made prisoners of the garrison, consisting of 700 French soldiers. In the East-Indies, the Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependant islands, surrendered to a squadron from Madras under captain Tucker: and Banda, the principal of the spice-islands, with its dependencies, was taken by a party of seamen, commanded by captain Cole, of the Carolina frigate; an exploit of uncommon gallantry and hardihood; for the place was defended by no less than 700 regular troops, and 300 militia, who surrendered unconditionally. Before the close of the year, the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, which had so long enabled the enemy to annoy our trade,

were reduced by a combined force from Madras and the Cape of Good Hope. Three frigates were afterwards dispatched to destroy the French batteries at Tametava, on the coast of Madagascar, and to expel them from other small places. The consequence of which was, that, at the beginning of the following year, France had not a slip of land in either Indies, and was totally excluded from the Indian Seas.

LETTER CIII.

BEFORE entering on the progress of the continental war in the year 1811, our attention must necessarily be placed on some domestic events of considerable importance. Much of the business of the parliament, which closed in June, was directed to the affairs of the preceding campaign, and the party, usually denominated the opposition, attempted to censure the measures of administration. The chief accusations, however, attacked the plan and conduct of the various warlike operations, rather than the principle of the war itself; while others began to form a party, insignificant indeed as to numbers, but not deficient in perseverance and industry, whose belief was, that the French were invincible, and that as no efforts on our part could be of any avail, our ministers were only wasting the blood and treasure of the nation to gratify their own ambition. With them the rising fame of a Wellington was a never-failing topic of disparagement. They condemned, as rash, his advance into Spain, and treated his victory at Talavera as useless. The progress of the French arms on the continent they represented as irresistible, and even eulogised the wisdom and spirit of the French ruler in his plans to ruin the commerce of this country.

While such assertions were made in parliament, and published to the nation through the medium of the press, we are not to wonder that the professed teachers of sedition should take courage, and revive the spirit which prevailed at the commencement of the

French revolution. Republican principles began again to be propagated, under the delusive guise of parliamentary reform; and this was urged in societies, pamphlets, and newspapers, as the remedy for all political evil, although no two persons could be found who agreed in their views of what such a reform should consist. In the mean time the character and privileges of the house of commons were attacked within its own walls with so much asperity, that it was found necessary to vindicate its constitutional privileges in a manner which had not of late years been usual. One of the members, who had not only published a virulent attack in a journal conducted by one of the most unprincipled vendors of sedition, but vindicated it in his place in the house, was sent to the Tower, where he remained imprisoned until the prorogation of parliament. The meeting of the next session of parliament was impeded by a calamity, which excited in the nation at large feelings of the strongest sympathy. For some time his majesty's health had suffered some degree of decay, and, in 1809, he became deprived of sight. About the end of 1810, there appeared evident symptoms of the disorder which, in 1788, occasioned a suspension of the royal functions. Parliament had been formally prorogued until November, but no intimation followed that it should then meet for dispatch of business. By an order in council, the chancellor had been authorised to issue, under the great seal, a commission for a further prorogation. On that day, November 28, they met; but having no precedent to guide them, they formed a course of proceedings, such as necessity prescribed; and, finding that the reports of the physicians were at first in favour of his majesty's recovery, consented to other adjournments, until all parties agreed that the royal functions should be supplied by a regency. For this, there being a precedent, that had been discussed in 1788 with the most solemn deliberation, Mr. Perceval, now first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward three resolutions founded on that precedent; and, on

1811. February 5, the prince of Wales was appointed prince regent, and empowered to exercise, in

the name of his majesty, the authority belonging to the crown. The restrictions were, that he was for a specified time restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing titles in abeyance; likewise from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer time than during pleasure, excepting those allowed by law to be granted for life, or during good behaviour, as well as pensions to the chancellor, judges, &c. These restrictions, however, were to terminate on the 1st of February, 1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled. The care of his majesty's person, and the direction of his household, were vested in the queen, assisted by a council, the members of which were the two archbishops, the duke of Montrose, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Aylesford, the lord-chancellor, lord Ellenborough, and sir William Grant. Provision was also made for proceedings in case of his majesty's being restored to health, the hopes of which seemed occasionally to be encouraged by the medical reports.

The prince of Wales being installed as regent, the session of parliament was regularly opened by commission. During the progress of the debates on the regency, which were neither numerous nor much prolonged, the fluctuations of party hopes and fears agitated the public in no small degree. As it was known that the prince regent had associated much with the leading members of the opposition, and as it was supposed, and even boldly asserted, that he had no confidence in the present administration, a change, partial at least, if not total, was fully expected. His royal highness, however, in a letter to Mr. Perceval, declared his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he found in them, as his majesty's official servants; and that filial duty and affection led him to dread lest any act of the regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his sovereign's recovery. It was soon discovered, that, whatever his royal highness's opinion of his royal father's ministers might have been, they obtained his full confidence in pursuing that system which at length

extricated the European world from the embarrassments and tyranny to which it appeared to be irrecoverably doomed.

As the other proceedings of this parliament, which was prorogued on the 24th of July, were less of permanent effect than of temporary regulation, we may notice the progress of the war, which was now beginning to assume features of novelty and importance. In Portugal, the hostile armies had for some months acted upon the defensive; but it was not difficult to foresee that the French commander must employ a greater degree of activity, or be obliged to retreat; for, on lord Wellington's position, he could make no impression, and began to be totally in want of supplies, and disease began to thin his army. Accordingly, he commenced his retreat, which was marked by the most savage excesses over the country which he could not conquer. He was also pursued by the English, and his army suffered much, particularly at the passage of the Ceiro: on the whole, he is supposed to have lost about 5000 in killed and taken. When he had re-entered Spain, he posted his army in the neighbourhood of Almeida, with an intention of relieving the garrison. Lord Wellington, who had invested that place, provoked his antagonist to battle, at the village of Fuentes de Honor, in which, as well as in subsequent attempts, Massena was baffled, and Almeida was abandoned by the French commandant. Portugal was now completely relieved from its invaders, in whose disgrace the people exulted, and bestowed due praise to the skill and courage of their gallant protector.

In Spain, although the campaign was less decisive, there were some brilliant displays of British valour. An important object with the allies, was to dislodge the French from some posts which they had fortified near the isle of Leon, as preparatives to the blockade of Cadiz. A detachment of the allies was therefore conveyed, by sea, to Tarifa; whence, having effected a junction with general Zayas, they reached Vejer. This force, consisting of 7000 Spanish, and 4000 British and Portuguese, was commanded by Don Manuel la Pena. On the 5th of March, they made a success-

ful charge on a French force, and established the desired communication with the isle of Leon. General Graham, who, with the British troops stationed in Cadiz, had consented to act under La Pena, was now directed to move down from BARROSA towards the Torre de Bermeja, leaving some Spanish troops on the heights: but when he had advanced into the middle of the wood, through which his route lay, having been informed that the enemy were preparing to take possession of the commanding position which he had quitted, he immediately countermarched to support the troops stationed for its defence. The French marshal Victor now appeared with 7500 men, a force far exceeding that under general Graham. The latter, however, resolved on an immediate attack, as a retreat at this crisis would have endangered the whole army, and his orders were executed with such consummate bravery, that, in an hour and a half, the enemy were in full retreat, leaving behind them an eagle, (one of Bonaparte's invincible military ornaments, and the first which the British had won,) six pieces of cannon, and nearly 3000 dead on the field, among whom were two generals. The loss of the British amounted to 1243 in killed and wounded: not a single British soldier was taken. As there was no pursuit, they took only 440 prisoners. General Graham remained some hours upon the heights, and then withdrew, with his troops, into the isle of Leon. La Pena, who returned with his forces to Cadiz, was much blamed for not having more effectually co-operated with the British: in excuse it was said, that the engagement was too short for his co-operation. General Graham, however, viewed the matter in a different light, and declined any further concert with him.

Badajoz, which had been pusillanimously surrendered to the enemy, was a place of too great strength and importance not to be a desirable acquisition. For this purpose, marshal Beresford invested it on the 4th of May; and, having been joined by the Spanish and Portuguese troops, formed a force now consisting of 8000 British, 7000 Portuguese, and 10,000 Spaniards;

but their proportion of cavalry was hardly 2000. The French, commanded by Soult, amounted to 25,000, including 4000 cavalry, and a great superiority of artillery. The number of the allies, therefore, exceeded that of the enemy; but the general was unable to place much dependence on the Spanish part, and must not be deprived of the merit of encountering what, in his reckoning, was a far superior force. He formed his army in two lines, nearly parallel to the village of ALBUERA, whence this memorable battle took its name, and on the ridge of the gradual ascent from its banks. The French began the engagement by a false attack on the village, while Soult bore with his principal force on the right wing of the allies, where the Spaniards were posted. Having driven them from the height, it required the strongest efforts to dislodge him. To effect this, while the Spaniards were rallying, colonel Colbourne brought up the right brigade of general Stewart's division; but, while they were in the act of charging, they were themselves suddenly turned and attacked by a body of Polish lancers, who, being supposed to be Spanish horsemen, were not checked in their progress to the rear. A dreadful carnage now ensued; but the extraordinary exertions of the other brigades converted this doubtful contest into a complete victory over the enemy, whose total loss was estimated at 8000, including 2000 left dead on the field and 1000 taken prisoners. The British had 900 killed, 2732 wounded, and 544 missing: the Spaniards lost 1600; and the Portuguese, of whom only a small part were brought into action, about 400. Soult is said to have acknowledged, that, in the whole course of his long service, he had never before witnessed a conflict so desperate and sanguinary. After the battle was over, Soult, from his great superiority of cavalry, was enabled to cover his retreat to the ground which he occupied before the action; and, on the night of the 17th, he withdrew towards Andalusia.

The operations of the allies, which had been suspended on the advance of the French, were now resumed, and Badajoz re-invested; but, hearing of the approach of an augmented French army, they crossed

the Guadiana, and selected a favourable position near Campo Mayor. Another engagement seemed not an improbable event; but although the French commander had 70,000 men, he was too prudent to attack even 50,000. Lord Wellington fixed his cantonments in Lower Beira.

The only other actions in which the English were concerned in the Spanish campaign, was the defeat of the French general Gerard, at Arroyo, by general Hill; and the defence of Tarifa, by colonel Skerret. Gerard's force consisted of 4000 foot and 1000 cavalry. These general Hill suddenly attacked on October 28, and took prisoners 1400, dispersing the remainder, who fled to the woods and mountains, with a loss of 600 killed. Toward the end of December, the same gallant general made a rapid movement upon Merida, in the hope of surprising the French stationed there: but they had been warned of his approach, and fled during the night, abandoning a large store of bread and grain. General Hill marched then to Almendralejo, which he compelled the French to evacuate: and having thus cleared the country of them, he cantoned his troops at Merida for the winter. The spirited resistance of Tarifa, conducted by colonel Skerret, with a force of only 1200 British and 1000 Spaniards, against a besieging force of 11,000 men, commanded by marshal Victor in person, must have been highly mortifying to that officer, in addition to his former experience of British valour, which his master had taught him to undervalue.

In other parts of Spain, the French arms were more successful, but hopes were still entertained that more favourable opportunities of rescuing it from the gripe of the merciless invaders were not far distant. Providence was now effecting that for degraded Europe, which it could not effect of itself. The progress may appear slow, but you may date the ruin of Bonaparte from the plans which he now was forming for the further subjugation of Europe, and the aggrandizement of himself and family.

Before entering on the proceedings which led to such important results, we may briefly notice, that the

British navy, in this, as in former years, maintained its superiority; and found various occasions for signalizing its characteristic spirit of enterprise. These, which terminated in the capture or destruction of flotillas, convoys, and small armed vessels, kept the enemy in constant alarm, and frequently disconcerted his best-planned operations. To Bonaparte they were a source of perpetual mortification. Whatever his merit as a soldier, he betrayed a profound ignorance of naval affairs. Of this, however, he could not be convinced; and, intent on raising a navy, he endeavoured to extend his conscript law to the levying of seamen. Fancying that his imperial presence would be an irresistible stimulus, he undertook a journey in September to the sea-coast; and, arriving at Boulogne, ordered the flotilla there to attack the English blockading frigate. But the result of this presumptuous order was a severe mortification to his vanity: one of his praams, with 112 men on board, was taken, and the rest were put to flight. He next proceeded to Amsterdam, where he issued twelve decrees, introducing into the Batavian departments the same system of domestic tyranny which prevailed in France. In the seizure of Holland, he naturally included the Dutch East-India dominions; but there also was doomed to an additional mortification. They had now surrendered to the British arms. This was the result of an expedition fitted out by the governor-general, lord Minto, against the Dutch settlements in the island of Java. The command of the troops was entrusted to sir Samuel Auchmuty, a brave and experienced officer, whom lord Minto accompanied in person. On the 5th of August, a landing was effected without opposition at Iilinzing, a village twelve miles eastward from the city of Batavia. The principal force of the Dutch, under general Jansens, was stationed at Cornelis; and sir Samuel Auchmuty's first intention was to march against it, keeping the city in his rear; but as some time was required to prepare for an inland movement, he determined to reconnoitre the coast-road to Batavia, aware that it was strong enough, if well defended, to be nearly impracticable. The enemy, however, used no

other means to impede his progress than that of destroying the bridge over the Antijol. The army, therefore, crossed that river in boats by night, possessed themselves of the suburbs, and, on the 8th, the city surrendered without resistance. The garrison retreated to Weltvreede, and afterwards to a fortified position two miles distant from their works at Cornelis. This position was carried by the bayonet on the 10th, by colonel Gillespie, with great gallantry. A strong column advanced from Cornelis to recover it; but it was repulsed by the main body of the British, and driven under shelter of the batteries. The most arduous part of the enterprise was now to be performed. The enemy, greatly superior in numbers, were strongly intrenched between the river Jacatra and a canal called the Sloken: seven redoubts, and many batteries mounted with heavy cannon, occupied the most commanding ground within the lines: the fort of Cornelis was in the centre, and all the works were defended with a numerous artillery. Sir Samuel Auchmuty, aware of the unhealthiness of the climate, and the danger of delay, after cannonading the works for some days, resolved on a general assault on the 26th; and, his orders in every point having been executed with the most determined bravery, the lines were forced, the fort stormed, and the whole of the hostile army, amounting to 10,000 men, were killed, taken, or dispersed. Of this loss, sir Samuel thus speaks: "About one thousand men have been buried in the works; multitudes were cut down in the retreat; the rivers were choked up with the dead; and the huts and woods were filled with the wounded." Above 4000 of the fugitives were made prisoners, and Jansens, the Dutch commander, escaped with only a feeble train of cavalry. On the other hand, about 750 of the Europeans, and 150 Sepoys, were killed or wounded. Jansens fled to Bugtenzog, thence to Samarange, and finally to the residence of the emperor of Java, to which colonel Gibbs marched with about 1100 men, with a view to attack him in his last retreat. He found a considerable body of the enemy on a hill, whence, on colonel Gibbs turning the flank of the position, they fled precipitately. He

pursued them to Oonarang, where they fired upon him; but this fortress was soon evacuated, and Jansens solicited an armistice. The whole island of Java now surrendered, with the French force in Madura, and not a vestige was left of the eastern dominion of what Bonaparte styled the Gallo-Batavian empire.

LETTER CIV.

On the opening of the parliament, January 7, the royal speech announced a continuation of the system of continental politics; and although all the measures that had been adopted were not successful, they were approved and defended by great majorities in both houses. It was evident, from the history of the preceding year, that the nation was now assuming a distinguished military rank; and that, under the auspices of Lord Wellington, a military school had been established, which bade fair to eclipse the brightest periods of our interference in continental wars. Much change, indeed, did not seem to have taken place in the opinions of those who clung to their favourite position, the invincibility of France; but, on the other hand, some were even for an extension of the scale upon which the peninsular war was carried on. Among these we may reckon the marquis Wellesley, brother to Lord Wellington, who had for some time held the office of foreign secretary, and who now resigned, in consequence of the difference of opinion with his colleagues on this important topic. He was succeeded by lord Castlereagh.

1812.

About this time, the Prince Regent, who had, by the expiration of the restrictions, attained the entire sovereign authority, addressed a letter to his brother, the duke of York, composed with much dignity and feeling; at the close of which he expressed the gratification he should feel, if some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government; and he authorized the duke to com-

municate these sentiments to Lord Grey, who, he had no doubt, would make them known to lord Grenville. These noblemen, in their answer, pleaded that they could not agree with the existing administration on various points, too important to admit of a compromise. The principal of these, were an emancipation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland from civil disabilities, the disputes with America, the circulating medium of the country, and the mode of carrying on the war. This negociation consequently failed, and the administration proceeded without any symptom of want of stability and support, until it was deprived of Mr. Percival, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, by one of those crimes which are rare in this country. On May 11, as this gentleman was entering the lobby of the house of commons, about five in the evening, he was assassinated by a wretch of the name of Bellingham, who fired a pistol at him, the ball of which pierced his heart. He expired in a very few minutes, without speaking. Nothing could surpass the consternation of both houses at this horrid event. For a short time the alarm of a conspiracy pervaded; but it appeared, on the examination of the assassin, that he had no accomplices. He professed to have sustained injuries from the Russian government, of which he had complained to several of his majesty's ministers; and, being unable to procure redress, he determined to put one of them to death, that his case might be brought before a court of justice. It appeared, on his trial, that the British ambassador at St. Petersburg had attended to his applications, but had ceased to interfere after he had been fully satisfied as to the legality of the proceedings instituted by the Russian authorities against Bellingham. Respecting these claims, the reasoning of Bellingham was sufficiently absurd; but, on other subjects, he gave proofs of a sound, although a hardened mind; and, as the plea of insanity was manifestly inapplicable to his case, he was found guilty, and underwent the sentence of the law, on the Monday following the commission of the crime. Pursuant to a message from the Prince Regent, the parliament voted a liberal provision for the

widow and children of Mr. Percival, and men of all parties bore testimony to his upright and amiable character.

Negociations now recommenced to fill up the vacancy in administration, details of which would be unnecessary and improper, as some of the personal animosities, which arose on this occasion, have long subsided. It may be sufficient to add, that the earl of Liverpool was appointed first lord of the treasury; lord Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home-department; earl of Harrowby, lord president of the council, and Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer; and although some of these might be inferior in political fame to the leading men in opposition, we shall find no lack of talent or vigour to assist in bringing the war to a favourable conclusion. That in this, however, they were assisted by a superior power, cannot be denied; for the great enemy of the independence of Europe seemed now to be driven to his ruin by a degree of infatuation which cannot otherwise be accounted for.

The most important debates of this parliament were those which concerned the orders in council, a measure originally designed to counteract Bonaparte's efforts to injure our commercial interests, but which had, among other consequences, involved us in a dispute with America. In the month of June, a motion was made for an address to the Prince Regent, beseeching him to recall or suspend those orders, and to adopt such measures as might tend to conciliate neutral powers, without sacrificing the rights and dignity of his majesty's crown; but this motion was withdrawn, and a declaration appeared in the next gazette, revoking the orders in council as far as they regarded American vessels, provided the American government revoked their interdictory acts against English commerce. But this attempt to conciliate came too late. You may perhaps recollect, that, as far back as 1806, Bonaparte issued, what was called, from the place where he then happened to be, the Berlin decree. By this he prohibited all intercourse with the British dominions. Our government endeavoured to counteract this by an order in council, interdicting the trade of

neutrals from port to port in the dominions of France and her allies. When this order was not found to answer its purpose, others were issued, subjecting all ports and places in Europe, from which the British flag was excluded, and all those in the colonies of his majesty's enemies, to the restrictions consequent on actual blockade; declaring all trade in the produce or manufactures of such countries or colonies to be unlawful, and authorizing the capture of all vessels engaged in that trade. In answer to these orders, Bonaparte issued another decree from Milan, the purport of which was, that every vessel which submitted to the English orders in council should be seized and condemned as a lawful prize. The American government complained of the conduct of both parties; and, no satisfaction having been obtained after repeated negociations with the British court, the congress, by a majority of 79 to 49, declared the actual existence of war between the United States and Great Britain, on June 18th; consequently long before the intelligence of the revocation of the orders in council could have reached America. Nor would this intelligence, in all probability, have proved conciliatory. A strong party in America were friendly to French politics, and nothing would satisfy them but a trial of military and naval skill with Great Britain. Their first campaign, however, was not very flattering to their hopes. In an attempt to invade Canada, their troops were totally defeated by a far inferior force;—a disgrace which was poorly compensated, by the capture of some English frigates by vessels greatly exceeding them in weight of metal and complement of men. It was with truth, that, in a declaration issued at this time by the Prince Regent, it was declared, that the origin of the present contest would be found in that spirit which had so long unhappily actuated the councils of the United States; in that marked partiality which prompted them to palliate, and even assist, the aggressive tyranny of France; and in their systematic endeavours to inflame their people against the defensive measures of Great Britain. His royal highness also noticed the arbitrary conduct of France toward the Americans, and the

ready and abject submission of the latter to all the acts of violence and injustice which were perpetrated by their pretended friends. From the community of origin and interest with Great Britain, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, his royal highness said, the United States were the last power, in which he could expect to find a willing instrument and abetter of French tyranny. But men, he might have added, may be well fitted to be rulers of a faction, who are ill-qualified to be rulers of a nation.

It is now time that we return to the state of the war in the Spanish peninsula. Lord Wellington began the campaign by investing Ciudad Rodrigo, which he took by storm, on January 19th. The garrison consisted of 1700 men, besides officers; a heavy train of artillery, with great quantities of ammunition and stores were found in the place: but the defence made was spirited, and the loss of the besiegers considerable. The Cortes thought so highly of this conquest, as to confer on lord Wellington the rank of a grandee of Spain, with the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. This gallant officer next proceeded to the siege of Badajoz, which he commenced on March 16th. After various assaults which were repelled with great resolution and courage, general Philippon, the commandant, surrendered with his garrison, on April 6th. This had amounted at the commencement of the siege to 5000 men, but about 1200 had been killed or wounded in the progress of it. In these two enterprises, the allies had about 6100 killed or wounded. The loss must have been far greater had the French commanders been aware of the danger, or had they acted upon the system of their master. But it is impossible to acquit them of either folly or cowardice, when we consider that, at this time, lord Wellington's principal army did not far exceed 42,000, and the whole force which he could call into exertion, did not amount to 75,000, while the number of the French, in various provinces, bordered upon 170,000.

Lord Wellington now advanced to meet the French general Marmont, who, during the siege of Badajoz, had made some attempts to recover Ciudad Rodrigo

and Almeida, and had ravaged the eastern frontier of Portugal; but on the approach of the allies, he retired again into Spain. Thither the British general followed, and, in order to defend the eastern parts of Spain, made preparations to form an army, which was intended to consist of 10,000 English expected from Sicily, and 6000 Spaniards levied in Majorca. As a prelude to his own operations, he gave orders to attack the fortifications at Almaraz, which formed the most convenient spot for the communication of the northern with the southern French army. This service having been effectually performed, the allies approached Salamanca on June 16th. This place was principally defended by three forts, against which it was necessary to make regular approaches. Marmont endeavoured to keep up a communication with them, but was compelled to retire, and the forts were at length taken. The French then retreated, and, being pursued by lord Wellington, their rear-guard suffered considerably. His lordship, having received intelligence that reinforcements were on their way to join Marmont, watched for a favourable opportunity to attack his army, which he found in the afternoon of July 22, when Marmont, in aiming to surround the British, extended and weakened his own line. Lord Wellington immediately seized this favourable moment for striking a decisive blow, and his arrangements were ably executed as soon as made. Major-general Pakenham, with the third division, began a furious assault on the flanks of the enemy's left, in which he was supported by brigadier-general Bradford's brigade, by the fourth and fifth divisions, and by the cavalry under sir Stapleton Cotton in front. The issue of this and other manœuvres was, that the French were driven in confusion from the field. The victors pursued them till next morning, when the French rear-guard was overtaken, and put to flight, the cavalry leaving the infantry to their fate. Three whole battalions surrendered, and large quantities of stores, baggage, and ammunition, fell into the hands of our army. Eleven pieces of cannon, two eagles, and six colours, were taken; and five generals, three colonels, three lieutenant-

colonels, 130 officers of different rank, and 7000 soldiers, were made prisoners. The loss of the allies were about 700 killed and 4000 wounded. On the side of the enemy, generals Marmont and Bonnet were both wounded, and the command of the fugitive army devolved upon general Clausel, who made a stand for some time on the Douro; but, on the approach of the victors, crossed that river, abandoned Valladolid, and continued his retreat upon Burgos. Thus terminated the battle of SALAMANCA, in which the British general obtained a complete victory over an army greatly superior in number to his own, and commanded by one of the most distinguished of the French marshals. The effects of this battle were felt in different parts of Spain; and one of its most important consequences was the desertion by the French of the long-continued blockade of Cadiz. Seville also was delivered from them; being entered, on August 27th, by a combined force under general La Cruz and colonel Skerret.

Leaving a force under general Paget to watch the motions of the enemy, lord Wellington now advanced with the main body of his army to Madrid. The usurper, king Joseph, on hearing this, quitted the city, with the central French army, and, after plundering the church-plate and other property, retired through the pass of Guadamara. Lord Wellington entered Segovia on August 7th; and, on the 12th, two divisions of the army entered Madrid, where Joseph had left a garrison in Fort la China, in the palace of La Retiro. This fort was invested on the 13th, and on the next day the commandant capitulated, surrendering his garrison, with a great quantity of ordnance, ammunition, and stores.

It becoming necessary for lord Wellington to watch the motions of the French army, he quitted Madrid on September 1, and advanced to Valladolid, the enemy retiring before him across the Puiserga. Following them afterwards to Burgos, it was his lordship's wish to become master of the fortifications which defended that place; but, his artillery not being equal to regular approaches, and not succeeding in his attempt to carry them by storm, and the French army being now rein-

forced by all the disposable troops in the north of Spain, his lordship found it necessary to begin a retrograde march to the Douro, and subsequently fixed his head-quarters at Freynada, on the Portuguese frontier. This retreat might itself be classed among the victories of this year; for it was performed before an enemy, whose force was estimated at 90,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon. Jealousies had prevailed, from the first co-operation of the English with the Spaniards, of any attempt to place the Spanish armies under British commanders; but the distinguished merits of lord Wellington in this present year so far overcame this feeling, that the Cortes conferred upon him, besides the rank of a grandee already noticed, that of commander-in-chief of the Spanish armies. Nor was the same merit unnoticed at home, where, in the early part of this year, he was created an earl.

What operation these events in the peninsula produced on the mind of Bonaparte, can only be the subject of conjecture. However he might conceal them from his vassals, or misrepresent them in his bulletins, he could not be indifferent to the fact, that his utmost efforts had not been sufficient to prevent an "English handful" from becoming a great army. He could not conceal from himself the progress which the allies had made, and perhaps might wish he had not so entirely undervalued English bravery, as to leave it to be opposed by generals, whose plans displayed neither great wisdom nor great courage. It is singular, that, while he seemed most intent on hurting English commerce, as that upon which the fate of Europe depended, and while bending the whole force of his mind towards expelling English goods from the continent, he should not have thought the expulsion of an English army, which had gained so many victories, an object worthy of his personal interference, and of that overwhelming power with which he had hitherto broken down the mighty armies of the greatest sovereigns of Europe. But such was not his plan; and the only proof we can give of his not being wholly insensible to the critical position of the contending armies in Portugal and Spain, does no credit to his foresight.

We find him having recourse to one of those tricks which had been so often exposed, one of those instances of base duplicity which formed the leading feature in his character.

His object now was the invasion of Russia; and, in order to be at perfect leisure for this grand expedition, he caused an overture to be made to the court of London for a negociation for peace. In this he proposed as a basis, that the integrity of Spain should be guaranteed, France should renounce every idea of extending her dominions beyond the Pyrenees, the present dynasty should be declared independent, and Spain should be governed by a national constitution of her Cortes. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, observed, that if by the present dynasty was meant the sovereignty as residing in the brother of the ruler of France, and by the Cortes, an assembly formed under his authority, such a proposition was totally inadmissible. The insidious offer was therefore rejected with the contempt it deserved.

With equal insincerity, Bonaparte affected to negociate with the emperor Alexander; but he was no more to be duped than the Prince Regent had been. In truth, the pretences of the French ruler were more obvious in the case of Russia than they had been in that of Great Britain; for, before he began to offer terms, he had set out from Paris, after collecting together the greatest military force that had been heard of in modern times. The adherence of the emperor Alexander to the French cause had long been suspected as partaking more of necessity than cordial attachment, and his pride became soon wounded by the arrogance with which Bonaparte thought fit to treat him. Among other instances of intolerable insult, this despot had seized the duchy of Oldenburg, and insisted that Russia should adhere to the continental system, with regard to English commerce, while he claimed the privilege of renouncing it at pleasure, by granting licenses to trade with England. To all this Alexander at length disdained to be subservient, and, in his avowed resistance to a dependence on French tyranny, had the happiness to be encouraged by a spirit on the part

of his subjects, which has scarcely a parallel in modern history. Russia could muster at this time a force of 300,000 infantry, and 40,000 cavalry; to which might be added 50,000 Cossacks; but a great proportion of this force was now employed in hostilities against the Turks, and in watching the movements of Sweden.

With this force Bonaparte was probably not unacquainted, and he prepared to outnumber it,—a policy to which he adhered in all his wars; for it rarely, if ever, occurred that the French, under his government, encountered with an enemy exceeding them in numbers. With this view, and well weighing the importance of the object, the subjugation of the greatest potentate, and the most extensive dominions in Europe, he called forth the contingents of the Rhenish confederation, and an auxiliary force from the kings of Saxony and Naples, which, with the choice of the French army, exceeded, on the most moderate computation, 400,000 men, commanded by himself, with the ablest and most distinguished of his generals, whose very names had formerly struck terror in the bravest armies of Europe, and had even, such is the influence of faction, been mentioned with veneration in the British house of commons.

The first movement of this vast army was made on the 30th of April, by 80,000 of the French, who, crossing the Vistula, took possession of Elbing and Louisberg. On the 9th of May, Bonaparte set out from St. Cloud, accompanied by his consort, and arrived, on the 16th, at Dresden, where he had an interview with the emperor and empress of Austria. It was here that, after terminating his affected negociations with the emperor Alexander, he published a formal declaration of war, and an address to his soldiers. The latter is noticeable for its uncommon arrogance, and memorable for the tremendous chastisement preparing for the haughty dictator. "Russia," says he, "is dragged along by a fatality; her destinies must be accomplished. Should she then consider us degenerate? Are we no longer to be looked upon as the soldiers of Austerlitz? She offers us the alternative of dishonour or war. The choice cannot admit of hesitation. Let

us then march forward. Let us pass the Niemen. Let us carry the war into her territory! The second war of Poland will be as glorious to the French arms as the first: but the peace which we shall conclude will be its own guarantee, and will have put an end to that proud and haughty influence which Russia has for fifty years exercised in the affairs of Europe."

On the 24th, he passed the Niemen, and entered the Russian territory. The emperor Alexander then issued a proclamation, in which, after complaining of the insults he had received, he adds, "There remain no further steps for me to take, but to have recourse to arms, and to employ all the means that have been granted me by Providence to use force against force. I place full confidence in the zeal of my people, and in the bravery of my troops. As they are threatened in the midst of their families, they will defend them with their national bravery and energy. Providence will crown with success our just cause. The defence of our native country, the maintenance of our independence and national honour, have compelled us to have recourse to arms. I will not sheath my sword so long as there is a single enemy within my imperial borders."

It was the great wisdom of the emperor Alexander not to trust entirely to his numercial force, but to resist the invader at all points where a stand could be made without risking a general engagement; to lay waste the country through which he should endeavour to penetrate; to harass him as he advanced, and to cut off his supplies. But this plan could not have been executed without a corresponding spirit on the part of the Russian people, as well as their armies; and accordingly we shall meet with instances of personal sacrifices, in the common cause, of which there are few examples in the history of patriotism.

A brief account of the movements of the hostile armies is all that can be expected in a work destined more particularly to the history of England; but, as we are approaching the crisis in which she bore a distinguished part, nothing can be deemed uninteresting which led to it.

Bonaparte, without much resistance, entered Wilna,

the capital of Russian Poland, on the 28th of June, and there he issued one of his insidious proclamations, offering to restore freedom and independence to the Poles, by which he deluded a considerable number to join his standard. The Russian main army, under Barclay de Tolly, was assembled at Smolensko, while the enemy, whose head-quarters were at Vitepsk, were hastening the advance of their strongest divisions, with the hope of bringing on a general and decisive action. In this critical posture, the emperor Alexander was encouraged by intelligence, that peace had been concluded with Turkey, and treaties of friendship and alliance with Great Britain and Sweden.

The advances of the French allies, the Saxons, and Austrians, were repulsed, with brilliant success, by the army of the Danube, under admiral Tchichagoff, while general Essen, to whom the defence of Riga was entrusted, bravely withstood another division of the invaders, under Macdonald. Count Witgenstein defeated marshal Oudinot, who left 10,000 men in killed and wounded. But the battle of Smolensko afforded the first proof to Bonaparte that he was now engaged with no common enemy. This city he attacked on the 17th of August; but, after a furious contest, the Russians retired from it, and the invaders, on their entrance, found it burning and in ruins. This sacrifice extorted from Bonaparte the exclamation, "Never was a war prosecuted with such ferocity; never did defence put on so hostile a shape against the common feelings of self-preservation. These people treat their own country as if they were its enemies."

The Russian army, pursuing its cautious and wise system, retreated upon Viasma, which not being tenable, every thing in it which could be of use to the enemy was destroyed, and the army took up a position nearer Moscow. At this juncture, the veteran general Kutusoff was appointed commander-in-chief, and moved the army near the village of Borodino, on the great road leading to Moscow, where he determined to hazard a battle. The French did not advance until the 4th of September; and it was remarked that Bona-

parte, on being apprised that Kutusoff was opposed to him, became more cautious in his movements, and more anxious for the junction of reinforcements. Each army is supposed to have consisted of more than 120,000. The battle, which is the most sanguinary in modern history, commenced on the 7th, and at its termination the Russians remained masters of the field. Above 70,000 men were killed or wounded on both sides, and of that enormous amount the majority belonged to the invading army.

As Bonaparte was now bringing forward fresh troops, Kutusoff retreated with his army beyond Moscow, where, in concert with the generals Tchichagoff and Winzingerode, a line was completed, extending round the enemy. In the mean time, his orders to evacuate Moscow and render it useless to the enemy were executed with a promptitude of which history affords no example. This painful but necessary measure was carried into effect by count Rostopchin, the governor, who placed himself at the head of 40,000 of its bravest inhabitants, and joined the Russian army; while the rest of the population, exceeding 150,000 of both sexes and all ages, withdrew from the city. A small band only remained in the Kremlin, the ancient palace of the Czars, who were soon overpowered by the French, under Murat and Beauharnois, on their entrance. This ceremony Bonaparte was preparing to make triumphal; but the city had been previously set on fire in many parts, which occasioned a conflagration so extensive, that, after it had raged several days, not more than a tenth of the buildings remained; yet the invader lingered for some weeks in the remains of the town, or in the neighbouring country, while his troops subsisted on pillage, and committed atrocious outrages upon those citizens who had not retreated. They remembered the promise of their commander, when he pointed to the distant spires of Moscow, "Behold the end of your campaign; its gold and its plenty are yours." It was by thus gratifying their rapacity that he procured soldiers to follow him in all his campaigns: but the delusive hopes of plunder were over, and their own safety became now a more im-

portant object. The Russians were in their rear; and although Bonaparte was still weak enough to think that he was to be addressed as a conqueror, the clamours of his deceived and disappointed troops obliged him to send a flag of truce to the Russian head-quarters, announcing his readiness to enter into a treaty. True, however, to their first determination, the brave commanders returned for answer, that no terms could be entered into while an enemy remained in the Russian territory. Again he sent to demand, that, if the Russian general refused to listen to a negociation, he would, at least, forward a letter to the emperor Alexander. "I would do that," replied Kutusoff, "provided the word *peace* is not expressed in that letter. I must not be a party to such an insult on my sovereign, by forwarding a proposal which he would instantly order to be destroyed. You already know on what terms alone offers of peace will be attended to."

In the mean time, although the clamours of the French increased, and their foreign auxiliaries were deserting in thousands, Bonaparte's infatuation increased. He sent a third time to the Russian head-quarters, with a proposition to evacuate Moscow, and take up a position in the neighbourhood, where the terms of a treaty might be afterwards arranged. But it was not for this that Moscow had been made untenable; and the answer he received stated, that "It was not yet time for the Russians to grant either armistice or negociation, as the campaign, on *their* part, was but just beginning." With reluctance, therefore, the baffled tyrant commenced his retreat from Moscow, and, with his usual contempt of human life, determined to sacrifice one part of his army in order to secure the flight of the other; and, what was dearer to him than all, his own personal safety. He had, however, to encounter a series of defeats and disasters before he could accomplish this detestable purpose. The Russians were close upon him, when he ordered two bridges to be thrown over the Beresina, but had scarcely passed the river with his guard, when the Russian general, Witgenstein, opened a cannonade on the troops who were preparing to follow, and were rushing in crowds

towards the bridge. At this moment it was blown up, by order of their barbarous commander: a shout of despair followed the explosion; and about 20,000 of his wretched followers were either drowned, killed by the Russian troops, or taken prisoners. The artillery, baggage, ammunition, and the greater part of what had been plundered from Moscow, now fell into the hands of the Russians.

After repairing the bridges, the victorious armies advanced, and, on the 12th of December, prince Kutusoff established his head-quarters at Wilna. The retreat of the French from the Beresina to the Niemen was attended with horrors to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. A brief outline, however, is as much as our limits will permit, and will be sufficient to excite the detestation of our readers against the brutal cause of so much human misery, while a more minute detail would only harass their feelings. For some weeks before the French soldiers quitted Moscow, where their commander told them they were to be enriched by plunder, and covered with glory, these wretched men had no regular supplies of food. On quitting the city, they were exhausted by long marches, reduced in numbers by an indefatigable and justly exasperated foe; and, what was a tremendous addition to their hopeless state, they were exposed to the severity of a Russian winter, with scarcely a garment to protect their freezing limbs. *In* some places, says one well-informed author, their route might be traced by the dead bodies, which appeared like the mounds in a church-yard when covered with snow. The scene of a night-watch often exhibited at dawn a circle of the dying and the dead, wrapped in rags, matting, old canvas, and even raw hides stripped from the perished horses. The fugitives set fire to houses and villages; and many, when their joints were racked by the sudden transition from cold to heat, became frantic, and fell into the flames. Numbers, with their feet frozen and half mortified, were left to perish in the snow. In short, of *this* mighty invading army of 400,000 men, which was destined by its presumptuous leader to erase the name of

Russia from the list of European nations, not more than 50,000, including the Saxon auxiliaries, recrossed the Russian frontiers. Their losses by capture were stated, by the accounts published at St. Petersburg, to be 41 generals, 1298 officers, 167,510 privates, and 1131 pieces of cannon.

Bonaparte, who had reached Wilna on the 7th of December, departed immediately for Warsaw, but, not thinking himself safe there, made a rapid journey to Paris, where he gave such a representation of his late campaign, as induced the people to receive him with their usual subserviency. But very different feelings were excited in other parts of Europe, and the downfall of the usurper and his family was predicted with great confidence.

LETTER CV.

THE total defeat of the greatest army which France, or, indeed, any nation in modern times, had ever been able to bring into the field, and the revived courage, and the revived connections to which this great event led, will tend to simplify the view we are now about to take of the progress of the war. The different armies, which have hitherto diverted our attention to different parts of Europe, are now about to be concentrated in one immense mass, and the discordant interests of the chief European powers to be united in one object,—the liberation of the continent from the insatiable ambition, treachery, and tyranny of the ruler of France. But, before entering on the progress of this union, it may be necessary to advert briefly to the proceedings of our own parliament.

The amazing sacrifice which the Russians had made by the conflagration of their ancient capital, was made known in England during the general election for members of parliament, and, from the hopes which such conduct inspired, might probably contribute to the return of a majority of those senators whose sentiments were known to be favourable to the system hi-

therto pursued. The new parliament assembled on the 24th of November, and, in the opening speech, delivered in person by the Prince Regent, treaties of peace and alliance were announced with the courts of Russia and Sweden, and the exertions of the emperor Alexander and his people against the common enemy were mentioned as they deserved. As a proof of his confidence in the British government, his Imperial majesty had recently sent his fleets into the ports of this country, and the Prince Regent declared his fixed determination to afford to that monarch the most cordial support.

Among the first proceedings was a parliamentary grant of £100,000 to the gallant Wellington; and, after the Christmas recess, on the 3d of February, 1813. the war with America was introduced, the principle of it approved, and it was resolved, almost unanimously, to support the executive government in the conduct of it. Early in the session, in consequence of the vast accumulation of business in the Court of Chancery, a bill passed for the appointment of a vice-chancellor, with full power to determine all cases in that court to the same extent as the chancellor had been accustomed to determine; and his decrees were to be of equal solidity, but subject to the revision of the lord-chancellor, and not to be enrolled until signed by him. For some years past, a motion had been introduced for the emancipation of Roman Catholics from civil disabilities, but had generally been rejected by considerable majorities. This year, however, when Mr. Grattan moved to refer the Catholic claims to a committee of the House of Commons, he carried his motion by a majority of 264 to 224. This he followed by a bill, which passed at first with little opposition, but was finally lost on a motion made by Mr. Abbot, the speaker, to leave out the clause by which Catholics were to be admitted to sit in parliament.

The most important business of the session was that which concerned the East-India Company, whose charter was about to expire. A petition was offered by the directors for a continuance of the monopoly and a renewal of the charter. But the ministry did not

think it adviseable to comply with these requests to the fullest extent, as it was the general wish of the public that the trade should be opened, with a view to the fairness of competition. Lord Castlereagh accordingly proposed a middle course, which it was hoped would satisfy all parties. After long discussion, and the hearing of evidence on both sides, it was finally agreed that the Company should be continued in all its former territories in India, with the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator, for a further term of twenty years, that is, to 1834, reckoned from April 10, 1814. The exclusive right of trading to China, and of traffacking in tea, was preserved to the Company; but the king's subjects in general were admitted to trade to and from all ports within the Company's present limits, China excepted, on certain specified conditions. By these conditions, a licence from the court of directors was required for all ships in private trade, which the directors were bound to grant, upon application, to the ships proceeding to the settlements of Fort William, Fort St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island: to all other places a special licence was required, which the directors might grant or refuse, but under appeal to the board of control, which might oblige them to issue a licence. A church-establishment was fixed for India, consisting of a bishop and three archdeacons; and the propagation of Christianity was to be further encouraged by licensed missionaries. In the application of the Company's territorial revenues, the order of precedence was to be: 1, In maintaining the military force: 2, In paying the interest of the Company's debts in England: 3, In paying the expenses of the establishments at their settlements: 4, Towards the liquidation of their territorial debt, their bond-debt at home, or such other purposes as the directors, with the approbation of the board of control, might appoint. A sum, equal to the payments made from the commercial fund at home, on account of territorial charges in the year preceding, was to be annually issued in India, for the purpose of investment, or of remittance to England. The dividend on India stock

was limited to ten per cent., till the fund, called separate fund, was exhausted; after which, to be ten and a half per cent. The number of king's forces, for which payment is to be made by the Company, was limited to 20,000, unless a greater number should be sent to India at the requisition of the court of directors.

The expenses of the war were now necessarily augmented, and the requisite supplies of the year were stated at a sum exceeding seventy-two millions for Great Britain and Ireland, leaving a total charge to the former of £68,636,000. The ways and means consisted of war-taxes twenty-one millions, a loan of twenty-one millions, and a vote of credit of six millions. On this occasion, Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer, introduced a new financial measure, which met with opposition, but was carried into a law by a great majority. It consisted in the repeal of so much of the sinking-fund act of 1802, as directed that the whole sinking-fund then existing should continue to accumulate, at compound interest, till the redemption of the whole funded debt then remaining unredeemed. The immediate result of this measure, Mr. Vansittart contended, would be equal to a subsidy of above one hundred millions; so that, upon a supposition of a continuance of the war four years longer, it might be hoped that it would not be necessary to impose any other new taxes than such as were requisite for the additions to the sinking-fund above mentioned.

The complete liberation of the peninsula, by our gallant countrymen and their allies, is the first event of this memorable campaign which demands our attention. We left lord Wellington at his head-quarters, at Freynada, and, during the period of repose, the British army had been reinforced by 20,000 after the battle of Salamanca; and the whole force of the allies was estimated at about 80,000 British and Portuguese, and 50,000 Spanish regulars, besides a *guerilla* force, which was hourly increasing. The campaign did not open until the end of May, at which time the enemy, taught experience by the reverses of the last campaign,

concentrated themselves in Castile, under the orders of king Joseph, whose head-quarters were at Madrid. This usurper had three armies, called the army of Portugal, the army of the centre, and the army of the south; but Soult had been detached to assist Bonaparte in Germany; and numerous draughts had been made from these forces, which were but ill supplied by raw troops of the new conscription.

On opening the campaign, it appeared that the arrangements of the enemy were likely to be merely defensive, and that their principal object was to secure the line of the Douro. But the profound and judicious tactics of the marquis of Wellington frustrated their hopes in this respect. Towards the end of May, the whole force of the allied army directed its course northward on the Douro, the passage over which the enemy hoped would be prevented by a range of fortified positions along the right or northern bank of that river: but lord Wellington, advancing with the light troops of the centre, entered Salamanca, which the French general Vilatte had scarcely time to evacuate, with the loss of 300 of his rear-guard. The troops under sir Rowland Hill moved in a parallel direction towards the left bank of the Douro, while sir Thomas Graham, with the main body of the army, passed to the north of the river at Braganza, and, proceeding along the right bank, superseded the necessity of forcing a passage in the face of the fortified positions. The subsequent movements of the brave commander were so rapid and unexpected, as to disconcert the enemy completely, who now did not dare to oppose his passage over the Esla, and he arrived on June 2d at Toro; whence, on the 4th, the whole allied forces marched to Valladolid. The French, confounded at the rapidity and success of these motions, determined to abandon Madrid, and commenced their retreat to Burgos, where they attempted to fortify a strong position; but a charge of British cavalry soon obliged them to fall back behind the river Urbelar. In the course of the night their commander, marshal Jourdan, destroyed the works of the castle, which had lately withstood so many attacks as to be deemed almost impreg-

nable, and on the following day all his troops were in full retreat towards the Ebro. Thither Lord Wellington pursued them, and, passing that river, marched to Vittoria, where he added another to the list of victories which had already immortalized his name.

On the 19th of June, the French army, under the command of king Joseph, with Jourdan as his major-general, and consisting of the whole south and centre armies, and the cavalry of the army of Portugal, and some troops of that of the north, in all fully equal in numbers and strength to the army of the allies, took a position in front of Vittoria. On the 20th, a halt was made in order to close up the columns of the allied army; and lord Wellington employed that day in reconnoitring the position of the enemy. On the following morning he made a general attack, and obtained a complete victory, taking from them 151 pieces of cannon, 415 waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, treasure, provisions, cattle, and a considerable number of prisoners. Their loss in men was computed at 9000 killed, wounded, or captured, and that of the allied army at 700 killed and 4000 wounded, of whom the greater part was British. By the subsequent movements of sir Thomas Graham, the fugitives were cut off from the high road to France, and were obliged to retreat towards Pampluna, whence they marched over the Pyrenees into France. King Joseph fled in confusion through Salvatierra; and henceforward we shall hear no more of him as the usurper of the Spanish throne.

Lord Wellington followed up this glorious victory with his characteristic promptitude and decision. The centre of the French retreating army having taken a strong position on the Spanish side of the frontier, Sir Rowland Hill, with a detachment of British and Portuguese, obliged them to withdraw into France. Soult, now returned from Germany, and constituted commander-in-chief, joined the army in July, and having collected a force of 30,000 or 40,000 men, succeeded in an attack on an English post at Roncevalles; and various operations of attack and defence were carried on during the latter days of the month of July, in which

the loss seemed mutual. The siege of St. Sebastian was concluded by assault, by order of lord Wellington, but after a very considerable loss of men. The siege of Tarragona was unsuccessfully attempted by sir John Murray, and afterwards by lord William Bentick; but it was afterwards abandoned by the French, who destroyed the works.

These partial reverses did not prevent the accomplishment of the grand object of lord Wellington's ambition. His entrance into France was effected on the 7th of October, by crossing the Bidassoa. This was performed at different fords by a series of spirited actions against the enemy's defences. The surrender of the strong fortress of Pampluna having disengaged the right of the allied army from the service of covering the blockade, lord Wellington put in execution a meditated operation to force the centre of the French troops, and establish the allied army in the rear of their right. This purpose was attained on the night of November 10th, when the French quitted all their works and posts in front of St. Jean de Leon, which they had been fortifying with great labour for three months, and retired to an entrenched camp in front of Bayonne. They lost in the preceding contest 51 pieces of cannon, and 1400 prisoners. On December 9th, a great part of the allied army crossed the river Nive, but after severe contests with the French, who were finally repelled with great loss; nor did the British and Portuguese achieve their object under a loss of above 4000 men killed, wounded, and missing. Thus, at the end of the year, the liberation of the peninsula was accomplished, and the army under lord Wellington was the first of those destined to accomplish the liberation of Europe, which gained a firm footing on the French territory.

LETTER CVI.

We left Bonaparte at Paris, endeavouring to reconcile his subjects to the loss and disgrace of his expedition to Russia. Whether he succeeded in imposing on

their understandings is doubtful: but for some time he profited by their fears, and was enabled to raise another army, with which he purposed to march into Germany. Yet, however he might deceive his oppressed subjects, he could not deceive himself: he could not be ignorant that his allies were no longer to be depended on, that it was force and not affection which induced them to rank on his side, and that the success of the Russians had opened a prospect of national independence, of which the weakest of the European powers, hitherto almost his vassals, would be eager to catch a glimpse.

Prussia, as she had been the first to join the French, was now the first to dissolve the connexion. The defection was begun by general Von York, whose detachment of 15,000 Prussians was united with a part of the French army, under Macdonald, in the blockade of Riga. York concluded a convention with the Russians, by which his troops were to remain neutral in eastern Prussia. The subsequent progress of the Russians in entering Konigsberg, and the triumphal march of the emperor Alexander, who crossed the Niemen on January 13, were preceded by the retreat of the French in every direction. In the end of January, the king of Prussia withdrew from Potsdam, where he was in the power of the French, and removed to Breslau. As the Russians carried their invasion into Poland, and occupied Warsaw, and invested Dantzic and Thorn, the Austrians concluded an unlimited truce, and withdrew into Galicia. On February 22, the king of Prussia formed a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the emperor of Russia. The king of Saxony still adhered to Bonaparte; but the approach of the allied army compelled him to leave Dresden. General Blucher, who commanded the Prussian army of Silesia, published an address to the Saxons, in which, after offering them his assistance against their oppressors, he thus alluded to the events of the campaign in Russia: "In the north of Europe, the lord of Hosts has held a dreadful court of justice, and the angel of death has cut off 300,000 of those strangers, by the sword, famine, and cold, from

that earth, which they, in the insolence of their prosperity, would have brought under their yoke." Prussia now became one vast camp, and the spirit of the great Frederick revived.

Bonaparte now saw his danger, but he did not meet it with the decision of former days. He began with acts of mean and hypocritical conciliation. Among these, he released the pope from imprisonment at Fontainbleau, restored the territories of the church, and procured the sanction of his holiness to his second marriage. The army he had now gathered by his usual compulsory means of conscription and requisition, consisted of 350,000 men, divided into twelve corps, besides the imperial guards. Eugene Beauharnois was appointed second in command, and Berthier chief of the staff. Most of the other commanders were the marshals and generals who had been long known in the service; but a great proportion of the army consisted of raw levies. Bonaparte set out from Paris to head this force on the 15th of April.

The French divisions marched so as to form a junction near Jena and upon the Saale. The Russians and Prussians formed a junction between Leipsic and Altenburg. On May 2d, a general engagement occurred at Gross Groschen, near the plain of Lutzen, in which, after much slaughter on both sides, the allies drove the French from their positions, and remained masters of the field: but they afterwards found it necessary, from inferiority of numbers, to retire beyond the Elbe. On the 8th, Bonaparte entered Dresden, and was joined by the king of Saxony, now his solitary companion.

The allies, having received strong reinforcements, were attacked by the French near Bautzen: a series of sanguinary conflicts ensued, but the French sustained the greatest loss. During this indecision, an armistice was concluded on June 1, which was to conclude on the 20th of July. A congress was then held at Prague, to arrange the terms of a general peace; but, as Bonaparte would not make even a nominal sacrifice for the repose of Europe, the emperor of Austria declared war against him on the 10th of August, and concluded a

treaty of alliance with Russia and Prussia. It was some time before Bonaparte could believe that his father-in-law had deserted him; but he forgot that even this family connection was itself a matter of compulsion.

On the resumption of hostilities, the allies so far succeeded, by various actions, in their attempts to drive back the French, that, on the 26th of August, their advanced guards encamped on the heights above Dresden, within which city was Bonaparte, with a force of 130,000 men: but their attempt to carry the city by assault was unsuccessful. On the following day Bonaparte led out his troops to the attack of the allies, who, after a most sanguinary conflict, were obliged to retire. But a large division of the French army, which pursued them, and had at first some success, was completely defeated, with the loss of 10,000 men, and their commander, general Vandamme.

It now became the object of the allies to recover their ground, and beat back the French; and such was their success, that Silesia was entirely delivered, Saxony was re-entered by the Russians and Prussians, the Austrians advanced again from Bohemia, and the French, after severe losses, retreated to the Elbe. Leipsic was now the point to which the principal efforts of the allies were directed; and Blucher and Bernadotte, the crown prince of Sweden, who had joined the allies, moved on October 5th towards Leipsic, with a force amounting to 130,000 men. A treatise of alliance was concluded on the 8th, between the courts of Vienna and Munich; in consequence of which general Wrede, at the head of 35,000 Bavarians, immediately co-operated with the allies. Bonaparte, as we shall soon find, was greatly irritated at this defection.

Bonaparte's plan appears to have been to concentrate his forces at Leipsic, while the allies extended themselves on every side. The united armies of Bernadotte and Blucher were posted on the north, from the Mulda to the Saale, and the grand army, on the south, extended from the Saale to the Mulda. On the morning of the 16th, Blucher attacked the three French corps commanded by marshal Ney, and, after an ob-

stinate conflict, drove them immediately under Leipsic, taking 12,000 prisoners, and forty pieces of cannon. On the next day, the allies made a pause to bring up their reinforcements, while Bonaparte, who had drawn his army closer round Leipsic, secured an opening through the hostile line in the direction of Weissemfels. On the 18th a general battle took place, the details of which would far exceed the bounds of a sketch like the present. The result, however, was, that the French lost, in killed, wounded, and taken, 40,000 men, with sixty-five pieces of cannon; all their outposts and fortified lines were carried, and Bonaparte had now only to retreat in the best manner he could toward Weissenfels during the night. In the morning he instructed the magistrates of Leipsic to request a suspension of arms, for the purpose of arranging a capitulation; but the allies saw through this pitiful trick, and the emperor Alexander openly declared that no suspension could be allowed. The allied forces were then led towards the city, which they carried after a short resistance. At eleven in the forenoon, the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the crown prince of Sweden, arriving from different quarters, met in the great square of Leipsic, amidst the acclamations of the people. Bonaparte had quitted it only two hours before: his men fled in the utmost confusion over the Elster: the bridge was choked up with men and cattle: prisoners were taken by thousands, and the greater part of those who plunged into the stream perished. The whole of the rear-guard fell into the hands of the allies; and among the prisoners were the well-known generals Regnier, Brune, Vallery, Bertrand, and Lauriston: Macdonald escaped over the river, but prince Poniatowski was drowned in making the same attempt. The wounded, to the amount of 30,000, were all taken, together with the magazines, stores, and artillery remaining in the city. The king of Saxony, whom an unaccountable infatuation led to adhere to the falling tyrant, was now made a prisoner, and, with his whole court, was sent under a guard to Eysenach. No victory could be more complete.

Bonaparte retreated through Erfurt with about

70,000 men; a force which he employed against the 30,000 Bavarians posted at Hanau, under general Wrede. They, however, disputed his passage with great courage, and did not retire until they had sustained a severe loss in this unequal encounter. He then continued his retreat through Frankfort, and reached Paris about the 9th of November.

The allies now proceeded in the liberation of Germany. On the 6th of November, the crown prince of Sweden, with the army of the north, marched into Hanover. The regency of the electorate was immediately re-established, to the general joy of the people, who could not avoid contrasting the former mild sway of their venerable sovereign, with the odious tyranny which they had been lately compelled to endure. The awful reverses which Bonaparte had suffered, encouraged the people of the united provinces to recover their independence; and, after a series of interruptions from the French troops, they ultimately succeeded; and, on the 23d of November, the prince of Orange was solemnly proclaimed at Amsterdam. On the 30th, the prince, accompanied by a British embassy, landed at Schæveningen, and proceeded to the Hague, amidst the acclamations of the people. On the 3d of December, he made his entrance into Amsterdam, where he was proclaimed by the new title of sovereign prince of the Netherlands. In the same month another consequence of the defeat of the French appeared in a decided change of the policy of Denmark; and, on the 14th of January, 1814, her ministers concluded a treaty with Mr. Thornton on the part of England, and with Baron de Witterstedt for Sweden, according to which 10,000 Danes were united to the army of the north of Germany.

On the 1st of December, the allied sovereigns issued a declaration of their policy and views, which, considering their present advanced position, and the remembrances of the dreadful losses, insults, and injuries, they had suffered, was highly creditable to their moderation. They were now on the banks of the Rhine, but were unwilling to carry the horrors of war into France, if such an extremity could be avoided. They

desired that France might be great and powerful, because in a state of greatness and strength she constituted one of the foundations of the social edifice of Europe. They wished that France might be happy; that her commerce might revive, and that the arts might again flourish: because a great people can only be tranquil in proportion as it is happy. They offered to confirm to the French empire an extent of territory, which France, under her kings, never knew: because a valiant nation does not fall from its rank, by having, in its turn, experienced reverses in an obstinate and sanguinary contest, in which it had fought with its accustomed bravery. But they wished also to be free, tranquil, and happy themselves. They desired a state of peace, which, by a wise partition of strength, by a just equilibrium, might preserve their people from the numberless calamities which had overwhelmed Europe for the last twenty years. They would not lay down their arms until this great result should be obtained; until the political state of Europe should be re-established; and until the fidelity of treaties should have at last secured a real peace.

A declaration of this kind had been rendered necessary by the arrogant language which Bonaparte held in his council of state soon after his arrival in Paris. On the 1st of November, he thus addressed his subservient councillors: "Wellington is in the south: the Russians threaten the northern frontier: Austria the south-eastern: yet, shame to speak it, the nation has not yet risen in mass to repel them. Every ally has abandoned me: the Bavarians have betrayed me. Peace! no peace till Munich is in flames! I demand of you 300,000 men. I will form a camp at Bourdeaux of 100,000, another at Lyons, a third at Metz: with the remnants of my former levies, I shall have a million of men under arms. But it is *men* whom I demand of you: grown men, in the prime of life: not those miserable conscript striplings who choke my hospitals with the sick, and my highways with their carcasses. Give up Holland! rather resign it to the sea! I hear only the word peace, when all around me should re-echo the cry of war!"

Notwithstanding this frantic exclamation, Bonaparte began to distrust the people over whom he had so long tyrannized, and who, he was now afraid, might be affected by the moderation of the allies, if he should pay no attention to the proferred negociation. He therefore condescended to authorize Caulincourt to accept the basis of a treaty adjusted by the Austrian cabinet in the presence of the earl of Aberdeen, the English ambassador. The terms were, that the allies were resolved to abide by their reciprocal engagements, and to insist upon a general peace, including England; that the allied sovereigns were agreed upon the limits which nature herself had assigned to France, namely, the course of the Rhine, the chain of the Alps, and the mountains of the Pyrenees; that Germany, including all the provinces on the right bank of the Rhine, should recover its independence; that Spain should be evacuated, and the ancient dynasties restored in the peninsula; that the arrangements with Austria respecting Italy should be the subject of future discussion; that Holland should become an independent state; and that England would acknowledge such freedom of commerce and navigation as could be justly claimed by France.

It may well be doubted whether the proposers of such terms had any very serious expectation that Bonaparte would accept them. They amounted in fact to what afterwards was produced by force of arms, to the conquest of France, and the degradation of its ruler; for although the latter consequence was not expressed, it was impossible not to foresee that it must take place. Bonaparte, as a general, laid the French under such obligations as made them overlook his defects as a civil magistrate, or his oppressions as a tyrant. By leading his armies not only to victory, but to plunder, he gratified the only passions of which they appeared capable; and, by quartering his numerous hordes upon the enemy, he kept taxation within moderate bounds. But deprived of these sources of popularity, he was convinced that he must soon become insignificant. In his present situation, therefore, he had but a choice of evils; and his only hope was, that, as the negociation

did not put a stop to hostilities, he might, by intrigue or victory, detach Austria from the alliance.

His subjects, however, began to see that their interest required a departure from his usual methods of conducting pacific negociations; and when he had communicated to the legislative body a state of the present negociation, they made a report to him, by a committee under Monsieur Lainé, in which they recommended that he should answer the declaration of the allies by a counter-declaration on his part, distinctly avowing the sacrifices which he was willing to make for the repose of Europe: and they went so far as to say, that it was only on the rejection of such a pacific overture that France could be considered as embarked with him in the common cause.

Irritated to a degree of madness by such language as the boldest of his subjects had never ventured to use, he forbade the printing of the report; prohibited the future sittings of the legislative body, and ordered them to appear before him. He then told them that Lainé was a traitor, in correspondence with the Prince Regent of England: others of the committee were fools, treading the path which had conducted the Girondists to the scaffold. "You are not," he added, "the representatives of the people; you are but the deputies of the departments. I came to seek consolation from you: courage I have of my own. Instead of doing what I desired, you have sought to calumniate me in the eyes of France, and to draw a line of distinction, separating the interests of the sovereign and of the people. I am the only true representative of the people: which of you is able to support such a charge? The throne is but a wooden chair covered with velvet. I am both the sovereign and the people. In three months the enemy shall be repulsed, *or I will be no more.* Is it a time to prate of reforming the constitution when the frontiers are attacked? If France desires another constitution, and that constitution does not suit me, let her seek another sovereign. Have I not stooped sufficiently to attain peace, in sacrificing my sense of superiority over those with whom I am treating for it? If I have pride, it is because I have

courage; it is because France is indebted to me for her greatness. Your address is unworthy of me and of the legislative body; I will print it in my own time, with such notes as shall redound to your eternal disgrace. Begone to your homes! Supposing I have faults, was it for you to reproach me with them before the public? They who have foul linen to wash do not invite the world to be spectators. Begone! France has more need of me than I have of France."

This quarrel between Bonaparte and his legislators appears to have had no immediate consequences affecting either party. He exhausted all his anger in words, and they did not fail to assist him in making the most formidable preparations of which France was now capable. That his army might more fully answer his expectations than "the miserable conscripts," of whom he formerly complained, he sent the new levies to compensate for the large draughts made from the army opposed to lord Wellington; and ordered Suchet to march from Catalonia. This last manœuvre was to conclude a treaty with his prisoner, Ferdinand VII, in which he agreed to ratify Ferdinand's title to the crown of Spain, on condition that Ferdinand should reinstate in their honours, estates, and offices, all who had acted under the authority of Joseph; exchange without delay the French prisoners made in Spain, whether by English or native troops; and compel the English to evacuate the peninsula. The bare mention of these terms is a sufficient commentary on their absurdity.

Passing over for the present some events of minor importance, I shall conclude this letter with noticing the meeting of parliament, which took place so early as November 4. A bill was passed to enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the united kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Parliament also sanctioned a loan of twenty-two millions, and aids granted to Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Two millions had been advanced to Portugal, two to Spain, and one to Sweden. The sum to be allowed to Russia and Prussia was estimated at five millions; and that to Austria one million, together with 100,000 stand of

arms, and military stores in proportion. All these passed without a dissentient voice. The evidence of facts was now too strong to admit a doubt that the liberation of the continent was at hand.

LETTER CVII.

THE approach to the interior of France by the army of the allies met with little obstruction. Having passed the Rhine at different places, by the middle of January, marshal Blucher had taken possession of Nancy, and the Austrian general count Giulay was at Langres. The French army, under Marmont, Macdonald, Ney, and other generals, who had hitherto been familiarized with victory, was concentrated at Chalon sur Marne; and on the 25th of January, Bonaparte, who placed himself at its head, lost no time in directing attacks upon the different corps of the allies collected around him. In some of these he gained partial advantages; but these were followed by reverses mortifying to his proud and unsubdued spirit. After a sanguinary contest with Blucher on the 29th, at Brienne, he remained master of the field; but, on February 1, when he again attacked the Prussian general, he was beaten, and obliged to retreat over the Aube to Troyes, with the loss of 73 pieces of cannon. Other engagements took place, with various success, which retarded for a short time, but rendered the approach of the allies towards the metropolis more secure, while Bonaparte was every day experiencing the mortifications of a hopeless cause. His garrisons in Germany were now falling into the hands of the allied powers; and, in Italy, Murat deserting Eugene Beauharnois, to whom the defence of that kingdom had been entrusted, opened his ports to the English, and engaged to assist Austria with an army of 30,000 men. In Savoy, and some of the states of Switzerland, counter-revolutions had taken place. In Holland, the progress towards complete emancipation from French

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tyranny was rapidly advancing, and the royalists in the city of Bourdeaux were preparing to shake off the same yoke, while lord Wellington was co-operating with the allies with his usual spirit and bravery. On the 27th of February, he defeated Soult at ORTHES, with immense loss, which so dispirited the French troops, that whole battalions of conscripts threw down their arms, and some corps left their muskets regularly piled upon the ground which the British were to occupy, in contempt, as it would appear, of the service into which they had been dragged.

About the end of February, the allies afforded another instance of their moderation, and that it was their wish, even now, advanced as they were, to put a stop to the further effusion of blood, by sending to Bonaparte certain proposals for peace, which had been settled at the conferences at Chatillon. At first he indulged his usual arrogance of temper, by tearing the paper to pieces, exclaiming, "I am nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris;" but, upon farther consideration, he thought he foresaw some convenience in a protracted negociation, and therefore instructed his ministers to name the 10th of March, as the time within which he would produce his final propositions on the subject of peace or war. He also endeavoured to persuade his army into an opinion that Austria was about to withdraw from the alliance; but in this they were miserably disappointed. The emperor Francis had irrevocably decided on the conduct which the independence of his dominions and the peace of Europe required. On the 1st of March, a treaty was signed at Chaumont, by lord Castlereagh, count Metternich, count Nesselrode, and baron Hardenberg, in which England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, for twenty years. In this they engaged to enter into no separate treaty with the enemy, and agreed to maintain each an army of 150,000 men, exclusive of garrisons. Great Britain only had the option to subsidize other troops instead of contributing her own, and was to supply five millions sterling, to be divided among the other powers for the expenses of the war.

Neither the progress of the confederates nor the defensive manœuvres of the French were interrupted by this treaty; and Bonaparte, driven to his last resources, although he betrayed no fear, nor can be accused of want of exertion, evidently laboured under a degree of imbecility and infatuation, which seemed even imparted to his troops. Various battles were fought, in which he sometimes claimed the victory, but which never for any length of time disturbed the steady pace of the allies to their grand object,—the possession of the capital of France. The most remarkable conflicts preparatory to the attainment of this object, were those of Vauchamp, Laon, and Fere-champenoise. In the mean time, the 10th of March passed away, but no propositions were received from Bonaparte: five days afterwards, however, a paper was presented by his minister Caulincourt, to the Congress at Chatillon, of a nature which proved that he despised all sense of equity or justice. He demanded the whole line of the Rhine, and part of the line of the Waal, with the fortress of Nimeguen: he demanded Italy, and even Venice, for Eugene Beauharnois: he demanded indemnities to his brother Jerome, for the kingdom of Westphalia; indemnities to Louis, for the duchy of Berg; and indemnities to Joseph, not for Spain, but for Naples. The plenipotentiaries had no hesitation in rejecting such terms, and in publicly announcing that the sword only could terminate the present contest.

Although, after this determination, the French gave occasional checks to the allied army, nothing could shake the undaunted resolution of the princes and generals who were conducting the latter, to the completion of their grand object. The march to Paris was pursued with such rapidity, that the grand allied army had its head-quarters at Coulommier on the 27th of March. On the next day, marshal Blucher passed the Marne at Meaux. The capital was now alarmed, and Joseph Bonaparte, whom his brother had left as his lieutenant-general, issued a proclamation, urging the Parisians to defend their city, adding, (what he knew to be false,) that the emperor was bringing a

victorious army to their assistance. On the 29th, the corps of Marmont and Mortier entered Paris, in which there was a body of regular troops, with 30,000 national guards. The allies, now arrived in sight of the capital, were posted with their right towards Montmartre, and their left near the wood of Vincennes. Prince Schwartzenberg addressed a proclamation to the people of Paris, in which, acquainting them with the presence of the army of the allies before their city, whose object was a sincere and lasting reconciliation with France, said, "The attempts hitherto made to put an end to so many calamities have been fruitless, because there exists in the very power of the government which oppresses you, an insurmountable obstacle to peace." He further hinted the expectation of the allied powers, that the Parisians would declare in favour of a "salutary authority," and alluded to the conduct of Bourdeaux, which had revolted from the tyranny of Bonaparte: concluding with an assurance of paying every attention to the preservation and tranquillity of their city.

As this address did not produce the intended effect, preparations were made for assault and defence; but, after several spirited contests, the allies carried every post, except Montmartre; and, at length, a flag of truce was sent by Marmont, whom Joseph left to obtain terms for the city, while he himself, and his attendants, made their escape. The terms being accepted, count Nesselrode, the Russian minister, entered Paris, and, on the morning of the 31st, the city was evacuated by the troops of Marmont and Mortier, who were allowed to carry with them all their military appurtenances. The national guard, and the municipal gendarmerie were entirely separated from the troops of the line; and the arsenals and magazines were left in their existing state. On the same memorable day the allied sovereigns entered Paris, attended by their guards, the most perfect order being every where preserved. The emperor Alexander then issued a declaration, expressing the intentions of himself and his colleagues. This was in substance that they would no more treat with Napoleon, nor with any of his

family; that they respected the integrity of France as it existed under its legitimate kings, and would perhaps do more for it; and that they would recognize and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt. On the same day, Bonaparte, then on his road to Paris, received intelligence of this event, and immediately returned to Fountainbleau, to collect and embody his scattered army, and to unite it with that which had evacuated the capital, and was falling back on the line of the Loire.

On the 1st of April, the senate appointed a provisional government, consisting of Talleyrand, Bournouville, Jaucourt, Dalberg, and the abbé de Montesquieu. Next day a decree was issued, declaring that Bonaparte had violated the compact which united him to the French people, by levying imposts and taxes otherwise than in virtue of the law; by suppressing as criminal a report of the legislative body, whose share in the national representation he disputed; by infringing the provisions of the constitution relative to declarations of war; by issuing various unconstitutional decrees; by annulling the responsibility of ministers; by destroying the independence of judicial bodies; by subjecting the press to the arbitrary control of the police, employing it in disseminating doctrines favourable to despotism, and insulting to foreign governments; by refusing to treat for peace on conditions which the national interests required him to accept; by abusing all the means entrusted to him in men and money; by the abandonment of the wounded, without surgical aid and without subsistence; and by various measures, the consequences of which were, the ruin of the towns, the depopulation of the country, famine, and contagious diseases. For all these causes, the senate in this decree declared, that Napoleon Bonaparte had forfeited the throne; that the hereditary right established in his family was abolished; and that the French people and the army were released from their oath of fidelity to him. I have given these reasons for degrading the tyrant more at large than is perhaps consistent with the abridged scale of this history; but they may suggest many important reflections. It is ob-

vious that they characterize Bonaparte as he always deserved; but whether the senate would have ventured to advance them, if his usual fortune had not deserted him, may be questioned. You will not fail to remark the different treatment this usurper met with, from the barbarous cruelties exercised on the person and family of their last legitimate sovereign.

On the 4th of April, Bonaparte sent from Fountainbleau a deputation to the senate, offering to submit to its decision, and that of the French people, and to abdicate in favour of his *son;* but this proposal being rejected, he abdicated for himself and his *heirs* the thrones of France and Italy. The emperor of Russia afterwards proposed to him, in the name of the allies, that he should choose a place of residence for himself and his family, when he nominated Elba, an island on the coast of Tuscany, ten miles long and three broad. On April 11th, a treaty between the allied powers and Bonaparte was signed at Paris, by the articles of which, in return for his renunciation of the sovereignty of France and Italy, he and his spouse, Maria Louisa, were to retain the imperial title for life: he was to hold the isle of Elba in full sovereignty whilst he lived, and the empress was to have, in full sovereignty, the duchies of Parma, Guastella, and Placentia, with succession to her son and descendants; and an annual revenue of two millions of francs was assigned to him, with the reversion of one million to the empress: a revenue of two millions and a half of francs was also assigned in various proportions to his mother, brothers, and sisters. Of this unaccountable instance of moderation, the allies had soon cause to repent: but, in the mean time, it is necessary to mention, for the credit of our country, that the British ministry refused its concurrence to the treaty, farther than respected the assignment of Elba to Bonaparte, and the Italian duchies to Maria Louisa. It remains likewise to be noticed, that although the lenity shown to Bonaparte was supposed either to arise from the influence of the house of Austria, or was a compliment paid to that emperor by his colleagues, yet his daughter was conducted after the battle of Paris to her father's head-quarters, and never had any more communication with her husband.

On the 20th of April, Bonaparte left Fountainbleau for his journey to the southern coast, accompanied by four commissioners from the allied powers. In some of the towns through which he passed, the acclamations were in his favour, but in general he encountered the fate of fallen greatness, and more than once was threatened with personal violence. In his conduct on this occasion, there was nothing of a magnanimous spirit, and no appearance that the recollections of the past afforded him any consolation. Augereau, who, with his brother marshals, had conformed to the new order of things, said of him, when addressing his soldiers, "You are disengaged from your oaths, by the abdication of a man, who, after having immolated millions of victims to his cruel ambition, has not had the courage to die like a soldier." On the 28th, Bonaparte embarked at Frejus, on board the Undaunted, an English frigate, commanded by captain Usher, and set sail for Elba.

In the mean time, the legitimate sovereign of France, being now recognized by that nation as Louis XVIII, having quitted his rural retirement in Buckinghamshire, was conducted into London by the Prince Regent, with royal honours, and was hailed by all ranks of people with the greatest enthusiasm. On the 24th of April he embarked at Dover, and was joyfully welcomed at Calais. On his arrival in Paris, the people received him with the loudest acclamations; but the military, it was observed, preserved a sullen, though respectful silence, as if fearful that their occupation was over.

One of the first acts of the restored sovereign was, to issue a declaration, forming the basis of that constitutional charter by which the liberties of the French nation were to be secured. The representation was to be vested in two bodies, the chamber of peers, and the chamber of deputies; the taxes to be freely granted; public and individual liberty to be secured; the liberty of the press, saving necessary precautions for public tranquillity, to be respected; liberty of worship allowed; property to be inviolable, and the sale of national states irrevocable; the ministers responsible; the

judges independent; the public debt guaranteed; the pensions, ranks, and honours of the military, and the ancient and new nobility, to be preserved; the legion of honour maintained; all Frenchmen to be admissible to employments, civil and military; and no individual to be molested for his votes or opinions. This was certainly the basis of a free constitution; but the French, as we shall soon find, were not prepared for it. There still existed too much of that republican spirit which originally ruined the country; and, with it, too much of latent treachery, which, it was justly suspected, would appear as soon as the present restraints were taken off.

The news of the surrender of Paris unfortunately did not reach those distant parts of France where the war still raged. On the 12th of March, Bourdeaux had opened its gates to the British under marshal Beresford. Leaving there a garrison of 4000 men, the marshal joined lord Wellington, who was waiting at Aires, on the Adour, for reinforcements from Spain. On the 17th, the gallant marquis resumed his operations against Soult, and compelled him to retreat through Tarbes upon TOULOUSE, where he found a very strong position. On the 10th of April, however, the marquis Wellington made his dispositions for an attack, and gained a glorious victory, which compelled Soult to retreat in the night. The English commander now received intelligence of the revolution at Paris; but this did not reach Bayonne in time to prevent another superfluous effusion of blood, in a sortie from Bayonne. The enemy were, however, repulsed, and hostilities soon after ceased, Soult and Suchet intimating to the marquis of Wellington that they recognized the new government. On the 30th, the marquis left the army and went to Paris, where he was treated with the highest distinction by the king of France and the other great personages, and followed by the acclamations of the populace. The liberation of the other nations of the continent soon followed, and was confirmed by the following articles of peace, concluded on May 30, between France, and the allied powers, Austria, Russia, Great Britain, and Prussia.

By these articles, the continental dominions of France were restricted to the limits which bounded them on the 1st of January, 1792: but she received some additions on the side of Germany and Belgium, and on that of Savoy, Chamberi, and Annecy; together with Avignon, the Venaissin, and Montbeliard. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free, and the regulation of the duties reserved for a future congress. Holland, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, was to receive an increase of territory; the sovereignty in no case to devolve on a prince wearing, or intended to wear, a foreign crown. The German states were to be independent, and united by a federal league; Switzerland to be independent under its own government; Italy, beyond the Austrian limits, to be composed of sovereign states; Malta, and its dependencies, to belong in full sovereignty to Great Britain. France was to receive all the colonies, settlements, and fisheries which she possessed on the 1st of January, 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucia, the Isle of France, and its dependencies, Rodriguez, and the Sechelles, which were to be ceded to England; and of that part of St. Domingo, ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, which was to revert to Spain. The king of Sweden ceded to France his claims on Guadaloupe: Portugal restored to France, French Guiana. France was to enjoy in British India the facilities granted to the most favoured nations, but not to erect fortifications in the establishments restored to her. The naval arsenals and ships of war in the maritime fortresses, which she surrendered in the late convention, were to be divided between her, and the countries in which such fortresses were situated; Antwerp, in future, to be only a port for commerce. Plenipotentiaries from the contracting powers were to assemble at Vienna to complete the dispositions of the treaty. The king of France engaged to co-operate with his Britannic majesty, to obtain at a future congress the total abolition of the slave-trade by the powers of christendom. Great Britain also generously consented to remit, after the private claims of her subjects on France should have been satisfied, the whole amount of the excess in her

favour, for the maintenance of prisoners of war. In consequence of this treaty, the allied powers, in strict adherence to the declaration they made on their entering the French territories, now removed their troops, and, in a short time, not a foreign soldier was to be seen. On the other hand, the interior of France was now filled by the release of its troops from their various destinations, and by an immense number of prisoners of war returned by the allied powers. The allies appear to have had too much confidence in the French to suspect danger from so vast an army still in arms, and without employment.

LETTER CVIII.

HAVING detailed, without interruption, the progress of the allied armies through a period of nearly two years, for the purpose of showing how those wonderful events were combined which led to the dethronement of Bonaparte, a revolution which, it may justly be said, began at the gates of Moscow; it becomes now necessary to look a little into those concerns which more particularly belong to our national history. Of these, the most important was the war with America, which, however, during the interval just past, made but little impression on the public mind. Indeed, such was the superior importance of the war now brought to a conclusion in Europe, that all that is necessary to be related on this subject may be confined to a very few words. Compared with the tremendous and unprecedented conflicts which have lately engaged our attention, America presents us with only a few skirmishes, to which history could give little importance. In these, indeed, we derive some consolation from the fact, that British valour, where it had an opportunity for display, was as conspicuous on the new as on the old continent. We still regret that any contest should have been excited: but who can set limits to party folly and party rancour?

We have already noticed the causes of this petty

war, and shall, in few words, pursue it to its conclusion. In a late letter, I adverted to the strong wish of the Americans to distinguish their prowess by an expedition into Canada. In January, 1813, the American general Winchester was defeated in an attack of Fort Detroit: but, in April, general Dearborn possessed himself of York, the capital of Upper Canada; and the Canadian lakes became now the most active scene of warfare, and a number of spirited actions took place on their coasts and waters, with various success; but their final result was, that the invaders of Canada, at the end of the year, were driven back to their own territories. The capture of fort Niagara by the British, and the capture of the town of Buffalo, and the defeat of the American troops under general Hull, near that place, are the only other actions of importance by land, in the northern part of America: but a desultory warfare was carried on in the south by the British blockading squadrons, which furnishes us with few enterprises of importance. During the last year, the enemy had contended with apparent success for naval superiority; but this was transient, and amply compensated by an action, in which the wonted honours of the British navy were displayed. His Majesty's frigate, Shannon, captain Broke, was stationed off the port of Boston, where the Chesapeake frigate then lay. As this last did not venture to come out, though much superior, especially in men, Captain Broke, on June 1, drew up before the harbour in a posture of defiance. Captain Laurence, of the Chesapeake, now accepted the challenge, and put to sea, while crowds of the inhabitants lined the beach to witness the approaching conflict. So great was the public confidence in Boston as to the issue, that, according to some accounts, a public dinner was prepared for the victors, and accommodations provided for their expected captives. The two vessels came almost immediately in contact, and, in a few minutes, Captain Broke, observing that the enemy flinched from their guns, gave orders to board. In less than ten minutes the whole of the British crew were on the decks of the Chesapeake; and, in two minutes more, the enemy were

driven sword in hand from every point. The American flag was handed down, and the British union floated over it in triumph. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter. The whole service was performed in fifteen minutes from its commencement, and Captain Broke sailed immediately with his prize for Halifax.

The following year, (1814,) commenced with an effort at negociation. On Jan. 7, the president of the United States communicated to the congress, copies of letters between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Munroe, in which the former proposed to treat on terms of peace either at London or Gottenburg. This proposal the president thought proper to accept, and made choice of Gottenburg as the place, which, however, was afterwards changed to Ghent. This measure became the more acceptable, as the war was by no means popular in America; and in England had long been considered as more necessary than profitable. The greater part of the year, however, passed without the negociations arriving at an amicable conclusion, and in the mean time, the war was carried on with a considerable increase of vigour. Early in February, the American general Wilkinson was compelled to retreat, with great loss, from his position on the Salmon river to Sackett's harbour. In April, a successful expedition was undertaken by general Drummond and sir James Yeo, against the American fort Oswego, on the lake Ontario. In July, after an advantage gained by a large American force, which crossed the Niagara, and advanced into Canada, over an inferior body of British troops, the latter, being reinforced, defeated the enemy with the loss of 1500 men. But the most important expedition of this campaign was undertaken by admiral sir Alexander Cochrane, and major-general Ross, against the city of Washington. In their progress, on the 24th of August, the land-forces encountered and completely routed about 9000 Americans, and thus obtained possession of the new metropolis of the United States. They set fire to the senate-house and the house of representatives, to the arsenal, the dock-yard, the treasury, the war-office, the rope-walk, the presi-

dent's house, and a great bridge over the Potowmac. No less successful was the subsequent attack on the town of Alexandria: but that on Baltimore failed, owing to the manner in which the harbour was defended, and which prevented the co-operation of the naval force. This object of attack was also accompanied by the much-lamented death of general Ross, one of the brightest ornaments of the military profession. General Prevost's expedition against the state of New York was also peculiarly unfortunate. But at length the negociators at Ghent came to an agreement, and, on the 24th of December, a treaty of peace and amity between Great Britain and the United States was signed, and was afterwards ratified by both governments. The negociators on the part of Great Britain were lord Gambier, Mr. Goulburn, and Dr. Adams; and, on the part of the United States, Messrs. Adams, Baynard, Clay, Russel, and Gallatin. Both parties had conceded various points: but as no mention was made of the maritime rights which had been alleged as the cause of the war, the question was considered as tacitly decided in favour of Great Britain, especially as America renounced her demand of satisfaction for the captures made under the orders in council. The British, restoring their other conquests, retained the islands in Passamaquoddy-bay. The Americans were excluded from our fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland, and from trading to our settlements in the East-Indies. The Indians were to be restored to the rights and possessions which they held in 1812. It was reciprocally agreed, that commissioners should be appointed for settling the disputes respecting boundaries: and both parties engaged to continue their efforts for the entire abolition of the slave-trade. Unfortunately this treaty could not put an immediate stop to hostilities; and, in an expedition against New Orleans, the British troops, although displaying their usual gallantry, were obliged to relinquish the object, with the loss, in various actions, of 2000 men in killed, wounded, and missing.

LETTER CIX.

Of all the states opposed to France, Great Britain alone had uniformly maintained a decided hostility to the government of that nation, whether republican or imperial, as that which was inconsistent with the safety of Europe, and the peace of the civilized world. From this she had never for a moment departed, amidst the awful reverses to which her greatest allies were for a time doomed; and not even when, by their constrained defection, there was scarce a foreign ambassador or envoy to be seen in London, and scarce a vestige remained of what, in courtly language, is termed the diplomatic circle. It had uniformly been the principle of his majesty and of his ministers to consider the variable politics of the republican forms, and the more regular tyranny of the Bonapartean system, as equally hostile to national happiness, to the well-being of society, and to the peaceable and, to our nation, *indispensable* relations of foreign commerce. It may readily be credited, therefore, that in no part of the world was the conclusion of the late war received with more general or unfeigned satisfaction. Joy, indeed, so predominated in every part of our isle, that an account of its various demonstrations, in fetes, routs, feasts, balls, &c., might fill volumes. The metropolis, as usual, the seat of public splendour, took the lead; and, for some months, nothing was heard but mutual congratulations in every public assembly, and every social circle. Hard, indeed, must that heart have been that did not rejoice in the wonderful check given to the miseries of war. Even the apathy of party spirit seemed to give way, or, perhaps, more strictly speaking, was compelled to a temporary suppression. The advocates and supporters of the French tyrant, (for such were to be found, and that in high stations,) who had carried their admiration of him to the very last, affected now to bring their feeble tribute of applause to the measures and the valour by which he had been overthrown. One orator, who, with unceasing pertinacity had long endeavoured to undervalue

the services of our illustrious hero, now expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of the ministers, who had fairly tried the experiment of negociating with Bonaparte, and who, when they found that was impracticable, (and when was it not?) had recourse to more vigorous measures. He even went farther, and applauded their zeal for the restoration of the house of Bourbon, as it seemed to afford the best prospect of security to Europe.

What added not a little to the gaieties of the metropolis, at this happy crisis, was the arrival, in the beginning of June, of the emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia. These illustrious visitors were accompanied by marshal Blucher, the Hetman Platoff, prince Metternich, generals Barclay de Tolly, Czernicheff, Woronzoff, York, Bulow, and others who had distinguished themselves in the late battles, and were principally instrumental in the restoration of Europe. On arriving in London, their majesties were welcomed by the prince regent with the honours and hospitalities which were due to such illustrious allies. They were hailed with enthusiasm by all ranks of persons: all business seemed to be at a stand; the whole population turning out every day to gratify curiosity with a sight of men so endeared to us by their late services. At the university of Oxford, whither the emperor and king, with Blucher, &c., were accompanied by the prince regent, they were entertained with a magnificence that had never been equalled in that seat of learning, and were honoured by the highest degrees which the university had to bestow. In all the festivities given on this occasion, the animated and affable manners of the emperor Alexander diffused additional gaiety, while a deep sympathy was excited towards his brother monarch, whose more composed and dejected mien was occasioned by the loss of his amiable consort, during the evil days of Prussia. Alexander's visit was not that of gaiety and mere curiosity only. His inquiries into the domestic policy of our country were incessant and judicious. The emperor of an immense domain, yet almost in the infancy of civilization, he felt a peculiar interest in tracing the

steps by which our nation had been enabled to outrun every other in the happy rewards of gradually extended liberty, of a pure religion, and of cultivated morals. All this he treasured up in his mind, and, if we are not misinformed, is intent on communicating to his subjects. What he could not comprehend was the prevalence of political faction in this country, and that disaffection could be propagated, almost with impunity, by the most unprincipled of mankind.

The marquis of Wellington, who did not return home before the above sovereigns had left the metropolis, occasioned a revival of the late congratulations and festivities, and was every where hailed as a chosen instrument in the hand of Providence during the war. In the beginning of May, the prince regent bestowed the honours of the peerage on the following brave associates who had contributed to the military fame of their country and the liberation of Europe:—the honourable sir J. Hope, sir Thomas Graham, sir S. Cotton, sir Rowland Hill, and sir W. C. Beresford. All these bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and had previously, for their gallant services, been promoted to the knighthood of Bath. On the marquis of Wellington, his royal highness conferred the dignities of duke and marquis, by the names, &c., of marquis Douro, and duke of Wellington, in the county of Somerset. The ducal title was one which his majesty had resolved not to grant to any individual, however illustrious, except the royal family: but this solitary instance of deviation from what the prince regent knew to be his father's pleasure, was received with universal approbation, and it was thought would have been sanctioned by his majesty himself, had he lived to be conscious of the transcendent merit of him on whom the honour was bestowed. About the same time a message was sent to each house of parliament, recommending the grant of such an annuity as might support his grace's dignity, and evince the liberality of a grateful nation. In consequence of this, the sum of 300,000*l.* was voted for the purchase of a palace and domain suitable to his dignity, and an additional grant was made of 10,000*l.* per annum.

On the 28th of June, the duke took his seat for the first time in the house of lords, when his various patents of honour, as baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke, were successively recited, and the thanks of the house, which had been voted on the evening before, were addressed to him by the lord-chancellor. In his reply, the duke modestly expressed his acknowledgements for the approbation bestowed on his conduct; and observed, that the entire confidence which government had been pleased to repose in him, the ample means entrusted to his disposal, and the cordial assistance which he had received from the gallant officers who shared his campaigns, had contributed powerfully to those successes which their lordships had noticed in a manner so gratifying.

About the same time a deputation of the house of commons visited the hero, to repeat the thanks which that assembly had so frequently voted to him, and to congratulate him on his return. As he informed the members that he would give his answer in person to this communication, the house presented a most extraordinary and interesting scene. On the 1st of July, lord Castlereagh informed the members of his grace's intention, and that he was then in attendance, and it was instantly voted that he should be admitted. A chair being set for his grace on the left hand of the bar towards the middle of the house, he came in, making his obeisances; the whole house rising upon his entrance within the bar. The speaker having informed him that there was a chair in which he might repose himself, the duke sat down covered for some time, the serjeant standing on his right hand with the mace grounded. He then rose, and thanked the house for having animated his exertions by their applause on every occasion which seemed to merit approbation, and more particularly for the recent grant, which he considered as "the noblest gift that any subject had ever received." He expressed his admiration of the efforts made by that house and the country in times of unexampled pressure and difficulty, in order to support the great scale of operations by which the contest had been brought to so favourable a termination. By the wise

policy of parliament, he said, the government had been enabled to give the necessary support to the operations which were carried on under his direction; and he had been encouraged, by the confidence which his majesty's ministers and the commander-in-chief reposed in him, by the gracious favour of the prince regent, and by his firm reliance on the bravery of the officers and troops, to perform his military duties in such a manner, as to acquire those marks of approbation for which he now made his humble acknowledgements. The speaker then addressed his grace in an elegant speech, of which the following passage may be no inadequate specimen: "For the repeated thanks and grants bestowed upon you by this house, in gratitude for your many and eminent services, you have thought fit this day to offer us your acknowledgments: but this nation well knows that it is still largely your debtor: it owes to you the proud satisfaction, that, amidst the constellation of great and illustrious warriors who have recently visited our country, we could present to them a leader of our own, to whom all, by common acclamation, conceded the pre-eminence: and when the will of Heaven, and the common destinies of our nature, shall have swept away the present generation, you will have left your great name and example as an imperishable monument, exciting others to like deeds of glory, and serving at once to adorn, defend, and perpetuate, the existence of this country amongst the ruling nations of the earth. It now remains only, that we congratulate your grace upon the high and important mission on which you are about to proceed: and we doubt not that the same splendid talents, so conspicuous in war, will maintain, with equal authority, firmness, and temper, our national honour and interests." His grace then withdrew, making his obeisance in like manner as upon entering the house; and the whole house rising again whilst his grace was re-conducted by the serjeant from his chair to the door of the house.

The "high and important mission," mentioned in the preceding speech, alludes to the duke of Wellington's having been appointed ambassador extraordinary

to the court of France; a country from which he was not finally to return before he had given a most stupendous proof of that military skill and bravery which a grateful nation had so recently endeavoured to reward.

Of the arrangements agreed upon, or proposed for agreement, at a congress of the allied powers, the greater part belong to the history of the continent. Two or three, however, require to be noticed, as in some measure connected with our own history. The Austrian or Catholic Netherlands were to form, with the other Netherlands, a single state of all Belgium, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, in the hope it might be adequate in strength to its own defence, at least under the guaranty and protection of the neighbouring powers. Accordingly, on the 30th of July, the prince of Orange came to Brussels, and had a long conference with the governor, the Austrian general baron de Vincent, under whose government the Catholic Netherlands had been placed after their liberation from the French troops. Next day the baron issued a proclamation, announcing that he was to resign his government to the sovereign prince of the Netherlands: and, on the same day, the prince published an address to the Belgians, informing them that a new destination of their provinces was a part of the political system to be settled at the congress of the allied powers, and that in the interim he was called to the government of the country. Belgium was now evacuated by the Russian and Prussian troops, whose places were supplied by English and Germans in British pay. Various measures were then taken for reconciling the Belgians to the new order of things, and a body of native troops was raised to co-operate in the defence of the country. Before the close of the year, all its strong fortresses were occupied by garrisons of British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Belgians.

In August, an arrangement was concluded between the prince regent of England, and the sovereign of the Netherlands, by which Great Britain retained the Cape of Good Hope, Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice, resigning all its other conquests from the Dutch.

It is more material to notice, that the electorate of Hanover, raised by certain annexations to the rank of one of the secondary German states, now acquired the title of a kingdom, and our sovereign that of king of Hanover. The cause assigned for this change, in a declaration by the prince regent, was the invitation of several of the powers concurring in the treaty of Paris, who thought that, as the other ancient electors, and the house of Wirtemberg, had erected their states into kingdoms, it would facilitate the future arrangement of Germany, if the elector of Hanover were to do the like. On the 15th of December, a general diet of the Hanoverian states assembled, which was opened by his royal highness the duke of Cambridge, and a constitution was agreed upon, on the plan of a representative government.

As to the parliamentary affairs of this wonderful year, our attention must be confined to those proposals or enactments which were intended to have a permanent effect on the state of the nation, and they were not many. The parliament did not assemble for business until the 25th of March. Sir Samuel Romilly, a lawyer of great talents, and who had devoted much consideration to the state of the criminal laws, introduced a bill for taking away corruption of blood in cases of felony and high treason, which was passed, with an amendment; the purport of which was, that "no attainder of felony not extending to high treason, petty treason, and murder, do lead to corruption of blood."

In the course of last session a bill had been introduced (as had been the case for some preceding years) for what has usually been termed catholic emancipation, or the admission of Roman catholics to that share of political power, which their opponents think would be dangerous to the protestant establishment and protestant interest of these kingdoms. The bill of last year had been rejected, and chiefly, as was supposed, in consequence of a very able speech against it from Mr. Abbot, the speaker. While this rejection, and the discussion which preceded it, was fresh in memory, and the friends of the Roman catholics still

somewhat sore after their defeat, the speaker had to address the prince regent on presenting the bills at the conclusion of the session. On this occasion he adverted to the rejected bill for the relief of the Roman catholics, and assigned what he considered as the reasons for it. This was viewed by some of the friends of the bill as a reflection upon them, and as pronouncing a definitive judgment on the case, which did not belong to the speaker's office. In consequence, on the 22d of April, lord Morpeth moved, that " it is contrary to parliamentary usage, and to the spirit of parliamentary proceeding, for the speaker, unless by special direction of the house, to inform his majesty, either at the bar of the house of lords or elsewhere, of any proposal made to the house by any of its members, either in the way of bill or motion, or to acquaint the throne with any proceedings relative to such proposal, until they shall have been consented to by the house." The subsequent debate, which was rather warm and spirited, turned chiefly on the discretionary power vested in the speaker on the occasions in question, and on such precedents as could be found. In this particular case, complaint was also made that a part of the speaker's address implied an intention, in the supporters of the catholic bill, to introduce changes destructive " of the laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government, of this country are made fundamentally protestant," which intention they loudly disclaimed. The motion, however, was negatived by 274 votes against 106; and a motion, by Mr. Bankes, for a resolution of a directly opposite tenour was then carried.

But no subject interested the public so much in this session as the state of the corn-trade, and none is more likely to perpetuate perplexity of opinions. A report on this, drawn up by a committee of the house of commons, and printed last year, took into consideration the two systems on which the corn-laws of this kingdom had hitherto been founded; the first, that of discouraging the importation of grain by high duties, while its exportation was encouraged by bounties; the second, the reverse of this. The committee recom-

mended a recurrence to the former policy, by fixing very high the regulating price for permitting the importation of corn, and allowing the free exportation till it had nearly reached that standard. The price of grain being, at that time, unusually high, in consequence of two successive scanty harvests, the declared intention of bringing in a bill to parliament, upon the principle supported by the committee, excited a great alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial districts, of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order to enable the country gentlemen to keep up their greatly increased rents. Petitions, therefore, against any change in the corn-laws were poured in from the metropolis and a great many parts of the kingdom. The Irish farmers having of late years become so extensive corn-growers, as to export largely to England, the members for Ireland took the lead in this business; and, on May 5, sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution for permitting, at all times, the exportation of grain from any part of the united kingdom. This being carried, a second resolution was moved for the imposition of duties on importation, according to a schedule, by which, when wheat was at the home price of sixty-three shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should pay a duty of twenty-four shillings; when the home price was eighty-six shillings, the duty on foreign wheat should cease; and at all intermediate prices the same ratio should be preserved. This also passed, together with a third, for the importation and warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation; but, during the progress of these measures, many warm debates arose, and divisions took place, while in the mean time petitions against their principle grew more and more numerous. The ministry, who at first had supported them, became embarrassed, and the majorities in their favour diminished. The final result was, that the bill respecting the exportation of grain passed into a law; but the farther consideration of changes in the corn-laws was deferred for six months. Of the remaining business of the session, the most important was a bill, introduced in July, for the preservation of the public

peace in Ireland, agreeable to the enactments of a bill passed in 1807; it appearing that the most savage outrages were perpetrated, in some parts of that country, by a banditti called carders, from the application of wool-cards to the skin and flesh of the objects of their displeasure. Several of the Irish members, who were presumed to know the necessity, supported the bill, which passed into a law; but its operation was restricted to three years. The session was closed on July 30, by the prince regent in person, who, in his speech, adverted to the great events that had occurred on the continent, and the deliverance of Europe from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured.

The next session of parliament was opened on November 8. One of the first questions agitated in both houses respected the continuation of the militia, notwithstanding the conclusion of the war; but the legality of the measure having been pleaded, the motions in opposition to it were negatived by large majorities. The disturbed state of Ireland was again introduced, in consequence of a bill being brought forward to amend the act of last session for preserving the peace of that country, and to give additional powers to the magistracy. This received the royal assent at the close of the session.

Parliament re-assembled on the 9th of February, and a few days after the important question of 1815.
the corn-laws was resumed. A series of resolutions were proposed, of which the most important related to the fixing of an average price of grain at which free importation was to be permitted, and below which it was to be prohibited. The proposed price for wheat, which regulated the rest, was eighty shillings per quarter. A bill framed upon these resolutions was then introduced, which, in its passage through both houses, encountered much opposition; various efforts being made to lower the importing standard. It was, however, carried into a law by great majorities; but, by an exception in favour of the British colonies, the wheat grown in them was admissible when that of home growth was at sixty-seven shillings.

The passions of the populace in the metropolis being excited, by the apprehension of an immediate advance in the price of bread as the consequence, tumults ensued, which for some days bore a serious aspect, and were not quelled without military aid. Yet, after all, the bill proved entirely inefficacious, for an unusual plenty of grain in the three kingdoms reduced the price far below that standard, and the distresses of the agriculturists remained unrelieved.

One of the most important acts passed during this session was that introduced by the lord-chancellor, for extending the trial by jury in civil causes to Scotland. Its provisions differed in several particulars from those of the English law respecting juries. The Scottish jury-court is merely subsidiary to the court of session, and it takes cognizance only of questions of fact, which the judges of that court may refer to it at their own discretion. When a question of fact has been tried before the jury-court, the verdict is returned to the court of session, where the judges, in the further progress of the cause, proceed upon the fact so established, in the same manner as if it had been established in evidence before themselves. Thus the process of the jury-court is a substitute for the old method of taking proofs by commission. Another peculiarity in this new institution is, that if a jury cannot agree on their verdict within twelve hours, they are dismissed, and a new trial is granted. The noble and learned mover wished that the measure could have been carried farther than was attempted by this bill, which left it optional with the judges whether to grant such a trial in each case; but he hoped that, at no distant period, a further extension of the principle would be concurred in.

But all ordinary proceedings were interrupted, on the 6th of April, by a message from the prince regent to both houses, communicating information, that the events which had recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the engagement concluded with the allied powers at Paris in the course of the last year, and threatening consequences highly dangerous to the tranquillity and independence of Europe, had

induced his royal highness to give directions for the augmentation of his majesty's sea and land forces; and that he had deemed it incumbent upon him to lose no time in entering into communications with his majesty's allies, for the purpose of forming such a concert as might most effectually provide for the general and permanent security of Europe. The events alluded to in this message were the unexpected return of Bonaparte from Elba, and his resumption of the imperial authority in France: but this astonishing revolution must form the subject of another letter.

LETTER CX.

It is the praise, and sometimes the misfortune, of honourable minds to be divested of uncharitable suspicion, and to give credit to external appearances of sincerity, especially when accompanied by warmth of profession, even when such appearances and such professions have, in former instances, proved fallacious. After so much experience of the treachery of Bonaparte, it appears little less than folly to have trusted him with any measure of power: yet such, we have seen, was the case. The greatest criminal as a man, and the most callous tyrant and perfidious enemy on the face of the earth, was invested with honours, wealth, and the sovereignty of an island. This is one of those paradoxes which cannot easily be solved. It may indeed be argued, that, although treated with such dangerous lenity, his *imperial* authority was taken from him, and he was no longer at the head of a nation. It may be added, that the people over whom he tyrannized, had now received their legitimate sovereign, and, with every appearance of cordiality, had sworn allegiance to a constitution under which they hoped to enjoy a long repose from their past sufferings. *They*, surely, it was no weak credulity to believe, might be trusted with the protection of the kingdom against a degraded and disgraced individual, whom they had assisted in precipitating from his usurped throne, and

who was, at least as to all political consequence, likely to pass the remainder of his days in obscurity. It was no doubt in confidence of such probabilities that the allies removed from France as soon as France had received Louis XVIII, and, with a liberality more like the proposals of constitutional statesmen than the edicts of conquerors, seemed afraid, by their presence, to exert the smallest control over the proceedings of the French in the arrangement of their future government. All this, it was reasonable to think, would have conciliated the respect and gratitude of the nation to those sovereigns, who, flushed with victory, still imposed no terms but what were consistent with the mutual advantage of both parties; and left France, what she had not been for many years, an independent nation, and of greater territorial extent than before the war. Yet this liberality, of which France had never shown an example, when in the plenitude of her power, was, within a few months, repaid by such treachery and ingratitude as cannot be paralleled in the history of mankind.

Various reasons, derived from the state of parties in France, have been assigned for the rapid success of the revolution now before us: but, instead of entering into the consideration of these, it may be more advantageous to proceed at once to the several steps in the progress of the ex-emperor, as these will probably shew more exactly the real state of opinions in France. It appears that, for some time, a correspondence had been carried on between the disaffected party in Paris and the sovereign of Elba; and it is not improbable that they had given him a representation of his popularity somewhat exaggerated, for we shall soon see that the nation was not prepared to receive him with the submission they had formerly paid: but, however this may be, he was certainly led to believe that the period for his restoration was now come, and he immediately prepared for the great event.

On the 26th of February, in the dusk of the evening, Bonaparte sailed from Porto Ferrajo, on board a brig called the Inconstant, accompanied by six smaller vessels, having on board about 900 men, of whom only a

few were French, and the rest a set of adventurers from Poland, Corsica, Naples, and Elba. The British commissioner, appointed to reside at Elba, was at this time in Italy; but it does not appear that he had any authority to control the movements of the sovereign of Elba. On the 1st of March, Bonaparte was off Frejus, in the gulf of St. Juan. He landed in the afternoon at Cannes, and proceeded thence with his troops to Grasse. His first considerable attempt to try the inclinations of the army, on which his whole dependance was placed, occurred at Grenoble, where there was a strong garrison under general Marchand. Marching to this place, he found, at the village of Mure, the outposts of the garrison, who threw down their arms, and joined his troops from Elba. Two battalions of the seventh regiment, belonging to the garrison, left the place without orders, and took the road for Gap, by which Napoleon was advancing. These battalions were commanded by Labedoyere, the first traitor of any consequence who occurs in this history. The whole garrison soon after followed his example, and Bonaparte was now at the head of 3000 men, with a considerable train of artillery.

This attempt of Bonaparte was at first thought contemptible by the court; but a knowledge of the man, and perhaps of the army too, made it soon be viewed in a different light. Monsieur, with the duke of Orleans, set out for Lyons, and the duke of Angouleme, then at Bourdeaux, for Nismes. The king issued a proclamation denouncing Bonaparte an outlaw; and the chambers, the ambassadors and envoys, and the national guards, professed the warmest attachment to his majesty. For the defence of the capital, a camp was ordered to be formed at Melun. In the mean time the conspiracy in the north was frustrated. The principal agents to excite insurrection among the soldiers were Lefebure, Desnouettes, and general Lallemand, with his brother, who were defeated in all their attempts; and the two Lallemands, who had fled when marshal Mortier was about to arrest them, were afterwards taken by the police.

On the other hand, the Bourbon princes, who had

been joined at Lyons by marshal Macdonald, were obliged to leave that place, owing to the defection of the marshal's troops, and Bonaparte entered the city in triumph, almost all Burgundy declaring for him about the same time. He now resumed the title of emperor, and issued a series of decrees annulling all that had been done in his absence, and convoking the electoral colleges to hold, in the ensuing month of May, an extraordinary assembly, called, in allusion to the usages of the ancient Franks, the *Champ de Mai.* The objects of this assembly were to make such alterations and reforms in the constitution as circumstances should render adviseable, and to assist at the coronation of the empress and the king of Rome. But this arrogant adventurer found more difficulties in effecting these changes than he expected, although he was now about to be aided by the treachery of one of his most distinguished generals.

This was marshal Ney, whose repeated professions of loyalty had induced the king to place the greatest confidence in him. The king had appointed him to the command of 14,000 men, posted at Lons le Saulnier. Ney quitted Paris on the 7th of March, after assuring his majesty that he hoped to bring Bonaparte to him in an iron cage; but, immediately after his arrival at Bensançon, he joined Bonaparte with his whole division. To make this treachery the more complete, he issued a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he had the audacity to assert, that the cause of the Bourbons was lost for ever, and that the lawful dynasty, which the French had adopted, was about to re-ascend the throne. After this, it was obvious that no dependence could be placed on the regular army, and that it was no longer prudent for the royal family to remain in Paris. The king, therefore, departed at one o'clock in the morning of March 20, escorted by his household troops, and repaired to Ghent, where he established his court. The army under Macdonald went over to Bonaparte about the same time; but many of the officers, both in his and Ney's army, disdained to share in this scene of perfidy, and fled. Bonaparte then proceeded to Paris,

which he entered in eighteen days from the time of his debarkation at Cannes. It has been triumphantly mentioned, that he performed all this without firing a musket; but, from the few preceding particulars, you will probably see as little cause for triumph as for wonder.

On resuming the government, Bonaparte sent letters to the principal potentates of Europe, acquainting them that he had been restored by the unanimous will of the French people, although he knew that he owed his restoration to the perfidy of the army only, and to the fear they imposed on the people; and expressed his desire to maintain peace on the terms which had been settled with the Bourbons. But these potentates had already seen their weakness in trusting to this unprincipled usurper, and disdained to return any answer. Their plenipotentiaries, at the congress of Vienna, immediately issued a manifesto, declaring that, by breaking the convention which established him in the isle of Elba, Bonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; that he had placed himself out of the pale of civil and social relation; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. They also declared the firm resolution of the contracting powers to maintain entire the treaty of Paris. They expressed their hope that all France, rallying round its legitimate sovereign, would annihilate this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium; and added, that if, contrary to all calculation, there should result any real danger, every sovereign in Europe would be ready to give to the king of France, to the French nation, or to any other government that should be attacked, all the assistance requisite to restore public tranquillity. This manifesto was signed, in the alphabetical order of the courts, by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden. The plenipotentiaries for France were prince Talleyrand, the duke of Dalberg, Latour du Pin, count Alexis and Noailles: and for Great Britain, Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, and Stewart.

On the 25th of March, a treaty was signed between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, renewing and confirming the league contracted at Chaumont. They agreed to maintain in the field an army of 150,000 men complete, with the due proportion of cavalry and artillery; and not to lay down their arms until the purpose of the war should be attained, or until Bonaparte should be rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe. The other powers of the continent were to be invited to accede to the treaty; and by the eighth article it was agreed, that the king of France should be particularly called upon to become a party to the league. On its ratification by the Prince Regent, a limitation was annexed, declaring that this eighth article should not be understood as binding his Britannic majesty to prosecute the war with the view of forcibly imposing on France any particular government: and the other contracting powers agreed to accept the accession of his royal highness with this limitation.

It was not entirely from the strength of these resolutions against him that Bonaparte had cause of alarm. He had not been many days at Paris before he discovered that the capital of France was not what he had left it, and that there was a strong republican party disposed, in some degree, to place him at the head of a free government, but by no means to gratify his personal ambition. He had promised them liberty and a new constitution, phrases to which he hoped no great meaning would be attached; but, unfortunately, all the addresses presented him were founded on these promises, and he was obliged to return corresponding answers. Such a farce could not last long, and something he perceived must immediately be done to rouse the nation to a warlike spirit. A report from Caulaincourt, therefore, announced that the allies were about to enter the French territories, to wage war against the monarch who was willing to accept the treaty of Paris, and to deprive the nation of all that it had acquired during twenty-five years of suffering and glory. Upon this foundation a levy was ordered, and other preparations of defence undertaken. But there was another report presented by Fouché to Bona-

parte, which had certainly better been withheld, and perhaps would not have been withheld if Bonaparte could have controlled the press as in former days. This report gave information of the existence of a strong and general disposition in favour of the Bourbons: with all the organized character of societies, correspondence, internal and external, among the more systematic partizans, and the overt acts of pulling down the tricolour-flag, hoisting the white flag, and crying *vive le roi*, among those whose unmethodized zeal and honest nature are less capable of disguise or restraint. There is some relief to the mind in contemplating this sound state of the public inclinations, amidst so much treachery on the part of the army, and of those who rallied round Bonaparte in the seat of government.

To him, however, these facts, which he could not deny, must have been peculiarly mortifying, and he became convinced that he had before him a more difficult part than he had ever yet attempted to play. It was long ago observed, that, from the moment he left Moscow, an infatuation hung about him, and that his measures were rarely after that period concerted in wisdom, or followed by success. In what follows, we shall see him yet more infatuated and more irrational. In the beginning of April, he suddenly withdrew from the Tuilleries to the palace of Elysée Bourbon, where he summoned round him his military adherents, with the mortifying exception of some of his most celebrated generals, as Oudinot, Macdonald, Augereau, Clarke, Marmont, Victor, and St. Cyr, men who knew him, and knew what was due to their country. On the 22d of the same month, he published what he called an additional act to the constitutions of the empire, intended as a substitute for the charter of Louis XVIII, but closely resembling it in all its essential provisions. With this, however, neither the republicans nor the constitutionalists, the two factions into which France, or rather Paris, was at this time divided, were satisfied; and therefore they called for the solemn national compact, for which he had ap-

pointed the Champ the Mai; and with this he was at length obliged to comply.

The French had always been fond of shewy pageants, and their rulers, under every form of their government, did not neglect so easy a method of conciliating their affections. The assembly of the Champ de Mai was held on the 1st of June, in a temporary amphitheatre erected on the exercising ground, in front of the hospital of invalids. There, upon a stage, appeared Napoleon, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome Bonaparte, dressed in Roman habits, attended by cardinal Fesch, (Bonaparte's uncle,) and other courtiers. Subscriptions had already been collected for the additional act, and a report was made, stating that the great majority were for it, there being 1,288,357 who accepted, and only 4,207 who disapproved of it. Napoleon then took an oath to observe the constitutions of the empire, and another oath of obedience to the constitution and fidelity to the emperor was repeated by the whole assembly. This solemn farce ended with Bonaparte's distributing eagles to the troops of the line, and adjuring them to defend those ensigns at the hazard of their lives, and never to suffer foreigners to dictate laws to their country. The troops appear to have willingly sworn to what he pleased; but he was less successful with the legislators. The chamber of peers were tolerably tractable; but that of the representatives seemed more intent on settling constitutional points than alarmed at the danger with which the country was menaced. On the 7th of June, he addressed a long speech to both chambers, soliciting confidence, and support in men and money. The peers were civil; but the commons declared that the nation no longer indulged schemes of ambition, and that not even the will of a victorious prince should induce it to go beyond the limits of just defence. After some farther exchange of sentiments, propositions, and schemes, which convinced Bonaparte that the present was not the time to display his former arrogance, he prepared to place himself at the head of his army, in hopes that a splendid victory would dazzle these refractory senators into submission.

Agreeably to their compact, the allies were now advancing towards the French frontiers, and the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the king of Prussia, again took the field in person. Their forces, with the contingents of the different German princes, might be estimated at a million of men; but the greater part were at various distances from the probable scene of action. Our attention, therefore, must necessarily be directed to the Prussians, amounting to 150,000, who occupied Flanders, under the valiant Blucher; and to 80,000 troops, in British pay, under the orders of the duke of Wellington. The proportion of British in this last army amounted to about 30,000. Bonaparte, whose intention it was to attack the English and Prussians before they should be joined by their allies, was at the head of a select army of 150,000, on the frontier of Flanders. His first attempt was made on June the 15th, when his troops drove in the Prussian outposts on the Sombre, attacked general Ziethen at Charleroi, and compelled him to retire through Fleurus, and rejoin the main Prussian army, which lay in the vicinity of St. Amand and Ligny. Towards evening, they caused an advanced corps of Belgians to retire from Frasnes to Quatre Bras, on which place the duke of Wellington directed the whole army to advance.

Next day, prince Blucher, who was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, awaited the attack of the French, although the whole of his army had not joined. The battle raged with great fury from three in the afternoon till late in the evening, when the Prussians, unable to contend with superior numbers, were constrained to retire; but they formed at a short distance, and were not pursued. It was the duke of Wellington's desire to assist Blucher; but he was himself attacked by a large body of cavalry and infantry, aided by a powerful artillery, whilst his own cavalry had not joined. Yet the enemy was steadily repulsed in all his attacks, and the British remained masters of their position. In this obstinate conflict, usually called the battle of QUATRE BRAS, we lost many excellent officers, and particularly our gallant ally, the duke of Brunswick, who was shot through

the heart, in a desperate charge, which he headed in person.

Blucher, continuing his retreat, concentrated his army on the Dyle, near Wavre; and this movement rendering a corresponding one necessary on the part of the duke of Wellington, the duke retired upon Genappe, and on the morning of the 17th moved to Waterloo. This ground he had surveyed the preceding summer, and had declared that, if heading an army for the defence of Brussels, Waterloo would be the position he would choose. During his march, his army was but once molested, by a body of Polish lancers, who were defeated by the first life-guards, under lord Uxbridge.

In detailing the preceding events, I have confined myself to the leading facts; but we are now come to the most glorious period in our annals, on which it must be gratifying to dwell more at length. The position occupied by the British, called the field of Waterloo, from the village of that name, two miles in the rear, traversed the high roads leading to Brussels from Charleroi and Nivelle, and had its right thrown back to a ravine near Merke Braine, which was occupied; its left extended to a height above the hamlet Ter la Haye, which was likewise occupied. In front of the right centre, and near the Nivelle road, the British occupied the house and garden of Hougoumont, which covered the return of that flank; and, in front of the left centre, they occupied the farm of La Haye Sainte. By their left they communicated through Ohaim with the Prussian army at Wavre. The chain of heights forming this position, of which the extent was about a mile and a half, corresponds with a similar, but somewhat higher chain, running parallel, and separated by a valley of unequal width, but rarely exceeding half a mile. The two roads above mentioned cross the valley, and unite at the hamlet of Mont Saint Jean, considerably in the rear of the British position. Fronting this point, on the opposite eminence, and on the road to Charleroi, is the little inn called La Belle Alliance.

On the 17th, the British were on their ground for

the night, long before the enemy appeared. That night they passed under arms, exposed to a tempest of lightning, thunder, and rain, but in excellent military order, the particulars of which it is not necessary to specify. It was near twilight when Bonaparte arrived with his advanced guard at the farm-house of Caillon, about a mile in the rear of La Belle Alliance. On reconnoitering the position of the British, he is said to have expressed unusual surprise and satisfaction, on finding that they had not retreated during the night, and to have exclaimed, while stretching out his arm, "I have them then at last, these English." Yes! he saw them for the first and last time; he saw those who were destined to humble him to the dust.

About ten o'clock in the morning, he commenced a furious attack on the post of Hougoumont, on the right of the British centre, accompanied by a very heavy cannonade upon their whole line, which had to support the attacks of his cavalry and infantry, which were repeated until seven in the evening. One of the most desperate conflicts was at the house and garden of Hougoumont, which were occupied by a detachment of the guards, under lord Saltoun and colonel Macdonnel; and the wood or park by the sharp-shooters of Nassau. This cost above two thousand lives, principally of the enemy.

While the conflict was raging here, a part of Jerome Bonaparte's division made a furious assault on the British right. Under the fire of the artillery and sharp-shooters, heavy bodies of cuirassiers and lancers advanced, supported by close columns of infantry, ready to deploy into line, when the desired impression should be made. To resist this formidable manœuvre, the duke of Wellington had formed his battalions into separate squares, each side of which was four men deep. These squares were arranged alternately, so that each of those in the rear covered the interval between two of those in front. The artillery was placed on suitable positions in the intervals, and light troops were detached in front to oppose the desultory but destructive fire of the French tirailleurs. The guards and Brunswickers, disposed in this order of battle,

completely defeated the enemy's purpose, who sustained a heavy loss every time they attempted to carry it into effect. In no instance could they make an impression, and at length were obliged to confine their attack on the right to a fire of artillery. The British, to diminish its destructive effect, deployed into line, and lay down on the ground, forming squares again with the greatest coolness and promptitude, when new charges of cavalry were attempted.

In the mean time, Bonaparte had organized a combined attack on the centre and left of the duke of Wellington's position, with columns of infantry and cavalry. This, after being partially successful, terminated in a general cavalry action, in which the British dragoons proved themselves superior to the French cuirassiers, and repulsed them, taking two eagles, and nearly 3000 prisoners, who were immediately sent off, under an escort, to Brussels. But the battle still raged in every part of the field, and the British continued to sustain alternate charges of cavalry and infantry, and destructive cannonades, along their whole line. Hougoumont was again closely pressed and invested, and the farm of La Haye Sainte, which had been carried by the enemy, was obstinately maintained, notwithstanding the shower of shells which the English threw into it from the heights.

The duke of Wellington, regardless of personal danger, hastened to every point where the varying tide of battle demanded his presence; he rallied the regiments which appeared to give way, animated by his example those which stood firm, and repeatedly threw himself into the squares when about to be charged by the enemy's horse. It was said of him that he performed the duties of all ranks in the army; at one time he was acting as field-marshal, directing and guiding the grand operations; now he appeared as a general of division, or the commander of a corps, and now he headed a regiment in a determined and impetuous manner. At one moment the fortune of the day is said to have inclined in favour of the French. The whole cavalry of Napoleon's guard, in a furious onset, drove back not only the sharp-shooters, who skirmished in

front of the squares, but also the artillerymen, and seized thirty pieces of cannon. But before they could secure their prize, the duke charged them in person with three battalions of English, and three of Brunswickers, and compelled them to abandon the artillery.

As Bonaparte had greatly the superiority in numbers, he became desirous of striking an important blow before the arrival of the Prussians, and, therefore, about seven in the evening, brought up his celebrated guards, amounting to 15,000, in hopes of breaking through the centre of the British at Mont St. Jean. He himself moved from La Belle Alliance to a spot in the causeway, about half way down the height, and, as his men marched past him, pointed to the ridge which they were to assault, and said, "There, gentlemen, is the road to Brussels." He assured them, for he never scrupled a lie on such occasions, that the English infantry and cavalry were destroyed, and that the artillery which defended the heights might be easily carried by a *coup-de-main*. The advanced division of this formidable body consisted of four regiments of the middle guard, sustained by four regiments of the old guard, all veteran grenadiers, and the flower of the French army. These were led on by Ney in person, and marched up confidently, amidst strains of warlike music, and shouts of *vive l'empereur*: but, from the resistance which they encountered, as well as from their eagerness and precipitancy, the columns became confused in one mass as they approached the ridge of the hill. Here they were received by lord Wellington in person, who called out to the foot-guards, then stretched to the ground to avoid the artillery, "UP, GUARDS, AND AT THEM." Astonishing was the effect of these words. Loud acclamations followed, and the order was so instantly obeyed, that not a Frenchman waited to cross bayonets. The assailing columns turned and fled in utter confusion; general Friant was killed; and Ney, struck from his horse, endeavoured in vain to rally them. The old guard, who endeavoured to cover their retreat, were charged by the British cavalry, and entirely cut to pieces.

At this important moment, when the thickening cannonade on the French right, and the appearance of squadrons emerging from the woods, announced that the Prussians were coming up in full force, the British army was ordered to advance to the charge, the centre being formed in line, and the battalions on the flanks in squares for their security: the duke of Wellington, with his hat in his hand, led on the whole. The enemy was unable to resist the attack. Their first line was driven back on the second, and the second line was almost instantly broken. All was now total rout and confusion: artillery, baggage, every thing was abandoned.

Bonaparte had already left the field; and by a flight most disgraceful to his military character. His whole attention, just before, had been directed to the movement of his guards on the British centre. On seeing the columns recoil, he observed, hastily, "They are mixed together;" but when their defeat became more apparent, he said to his attendants, "It is finished now: we must save ourselves." Accompanied by five or six officers, and a peasant, who acted as guide, he galloped across the field of battle to the left, and hastened through Charleroi to Philippeville, which he reached next day, and, having there given directions to rally his broken army at Avesnes, he travelled post to Paris. His reception and conduct there must be the subject of a future letter.

The victory was completed by the operations of the Prussians on the enemy's left flank, the particulars of which are now unimportant. Their columns came into action about half past seven of this memorable day. General Ziethen charged the enemy's right flank near the village of Smonhem: it was speedily broken: the rest of the Prussians rushed forward, and, at the same time, the whole English line advanced. The victorious allies hailed each other with loud cheers; and, by a singular coincidence, the duke of Wellington and marshal Blucher exchanged congratulations near the post of La Belle Alliance. As the British were, after a conflict of twelve hours, in need of rest, the duke readily relinquished the pursuit to Blucher, who de-

clared that he would continue it throughout the night, and gave orders to send the last horse and the last man after the enemy. In this pursuit, the Prussians took about 150 pieces of cannon, Bonaparte's travelling equipage, and the whole baggage of the army. The British had previously taken an equal number of artillery.

No victory was ever more signal or complete. It was purchased, indeed, at a high price: but, when we consider its important consequences, who will say that that price was too high? It is still, however, to be mentioned with regret, that on the side of the victors nearly one hundred officers were killed, and more than five hundred wounded. The total of killed and wounded exceeded 13,000 men, exclusive of the Prussians. The loss of the French far exceeded this; but it is less easy to calculate that with precision. It is supposed they left at least 20,000 dead on the field. The prisoners did not exceed 7000, among whom were count Lobau and general Cambrone. In the pursuit, by the Prussians, many were killed, and many deserted; so that of the 150,000, with whom Bonaparte commenced the campaign, not a third, at last, remained in arms. There was every thing in this campaign to have affected his heart, had it been made of "penetrable stuff." It was a campaign of only four days, and the most disastrous France had ever known: but, bent on the indulgence of his selfish ambition, the waste of human life was with him a mere trifle.

As to our own country, the consummate skill of our commander, "the great captain of the age," and the valour and intrepidity of our troops, these will long remain the subjects of just exultation. It has been remarked, that at no former period of our history was this country placed in a situation so pre-eminent as that which it now occupied: nor in the most successful of our wars, did we ever see a day so brightened by victory, so ennobled by conquest.

LETTER CXI.

HUMBLED as Bonaparte had been by his late defeat, his reception in Paris was yet wanting to complete his disappointments and his disgrace. He arrived in the capital at eleven o'clock on the night of June 20, at the very time when the Parisians were exulting at the exaggerated reports he had made to them of his success on the 15th and 16th. His sudden and unexpected return, however, coupled with rumours of the great defeat of the 18th, changed their ill-founded exultation into a sullen grief. The next day he summoned his ministers, and, while he stated to them explicitly, that his army was no more, he had the modesty to require their assistance in the formation of another. Nay, in an official account, which he published, he claimed the victory as his own at eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th. The following extract from this account is an amusing version of what really happened, and a curious excuse for losing the battle of which he was so very secure.

"After eight hours fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power. At half after eight o'clock, four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the platform, on the other side of St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by their fire, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank by several English squadrons put them in disorder, and obliged them to recross the ravine. Several regiments near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and, in consequence, fled in disorder. The cry, "All is lost: the guard is driven back," was heard on every side. The soldiers pretend, even, that on many points several *ill-disposed* persons cried out, *Sauve qui peut.* However that may be, a complete panic spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; sol-

diers, cannoneers, cassoons, all hurry to this point: the old guard, which was in reserve, was attacked and completely cut up. In an instant the whole army fell into disorder; all the soldiers and arms were mingled *pel mel*, and it was utterly impossible to form a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this great confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder: and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their *error*. Thus was a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day, all lost by means of a momentary panic. The squadrons placed on the side of the emperor were disorganized and destroyed by an overwhelming force, and there was nothing left but to follow the torrent. The park of reserve, all the baggage which had re-passed the Sombre, in short, every thing in the field of battle remained in the power of the enemy."

This account produced little effect. The chamber of representatives declared their sitting permanent, and, alarmed as they were at the dangers which menaced France, evinced no disposition to connect the interests of Bonaparte with those of the country. The emperor, now at the palace Elysée, was in council with his ministers, when these representatives demanded some proposition. A message was therefore sent to them from the council, intimating, that in six hours a communication would be made to them. In this council it is said that Bonaparte proposed to proclaim himself *dictator*, in which he was supported by his brother Lucien; but that several members declared it as their opinion, that, in the present temper of the public, there was no probability that it would be acceded to. To the message just mentioned, the representatives replied, that they would only allow one hour for the determination of the emperor. On this, Regnault de St. Jean Angely, as the organ of the council of ministers, stated to the emperor, in plain, but respectful terms, that the interests of France demanded that "his majesty should abdicate the throne." Bonaparte said, "What! do *you* say so? *Et tu Brute?*" to which

Regnault answered, "Your majesty may believe that it is with grief of heart I announce to you the fatal necessity; but the well-being of France demands this sacrifice at your hands." Finding that all resistance was in vain, Bonaparte signed his abdication in favour of his son, whom he proclaimed under the name and title of Napoleon the second. He endeavoured particularly to impress upon the two chambers this condition, repeating it to the chamber of peers, through Cambaceres, the president, "Remember! I abdicate only in favour of my son."

This point was discussed with much warmth in both chambers. At length the abdication was accepted, and a complimentary message returned: but with regard to the title of young Napoleon, the question was evaded. The chamber then proceeded to nominate a provisional government, of which the members were Carnot, Fouche, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette. In this they appear to have partaken a little of their late master's infatuation. They then allowed him to issue a kind of farewell proclamation to his army, and required him to take up his abode at Malmaison, where he occupied himself in preparing for a voyage to America. On the 29th of June, he set out for Rochefort, accompanied by general Beker, a member of the chamber of representatives, whose orders were to see him speedily embarked on board a small squadron, which the provisional government had assigned for his conveyance. On the 8th of July he embarked accordingly on board La Saale, a small French frigate. The wind was fair; but a British man of war, the Bellerophon, captain Maitland, lay in sight, and rendered escape impossible. After various attempts to get to sea, he sent a flag of truce to the commodore of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, which was positively refused. He then sent two of his officers, Las Casas and Lallemand, to captain Maitland, to intimate his desire of throwing himself on the protection of England. Captain Maitland replied, that he had no authority to grant terms of any sort, and that all he could do was to convey Bonaparte and his suite to England, to be received in such

manner as his royal highness the prince regent should deem expedient. On the morning of the 15th, Bonaparte left the isle of Aix, and presented himself, with his suite, on board the Bellerophon, which immediately sailed for Torbay: but he was not permitted to land. The decision of the British government, in concert with the allies, was, that this pest of society should be conveyed to the island of St. Helena in the southern Atlantic, an appendage to the British empire, there to reside as a state-prisoner, under the inspection of commissioners appointed by each of the confederate powers. He and his attendants were accordingly transferred on the 7th of August to the Northumberland, captain sir George Cockburn, and next day that ship proceeded on her destined voyage.

On the same day that Bonaparte embarked at Rochfort with a view to make his escape, Louis XVIII reentered Paris. The steps which led to this event were few, and may be briefly passed over in a narrative that is confined more particularly to the history of our own country. There were occasional conflicts between the British and Prussians in their progress towards Paris; but there was no Bonaparte to contend with, and little else to be done than to check the occasional efforts of a scattered and dispirited army. In the course of their progress, commissioners were sent from Paris by the provisional government, to announce to the Prussian and English generals the abdication of Bonaparte, and to solicit an armistice: but it was the determination of the victors to treat only under the walls of Paris. Both the commanders entered the French territory on the 21st of June. From Malplaquet the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people of France, announcing that he had entered the country, not as an enemy, except of the usurper, the foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce: but to enable them to throw off the yoke by which they were oppressed. On the 23d, he took Cambray, to which Louis XVIII. soon after removed from Ghent. On the 29th and 30th, the duke crossed the Oise; and prince Blucher, passing the Seine at St. Germain, advanced to

the heights of Meuden, having his left wing at St. Cloud, and his reserve at Versailles. By a combined movement, the duke of Wellington also passed the Seine, near Argenteuil, and thus Paris was completely invested on its vulnerable side. In this extremity, a general council of war was held in Paris on the night of the 2d of July, the result of which was, that a deputation was sent next day to St. Cloud, to treat with the commissioners of the allied generals for the surrender of the city. It was agreed that the capitulation should be a military convention, without any reference to political questions. Its principal terms were, that the French army should, on the following day, commence its march, and take up a position behind the Loire, and completely evacuate Paris in three days; that all the fortified posts and the barriers should be given up; that public property, with the exception of that relating to war, should be respected; that private persons and property should be equally respected; and that all individuals in the capital should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties without being disturbed or called to account, either as to situations held by them, or as to their conduct or political opinions. It had, perhaps, been better, if this last condition had been expressed with more reserve, as it was afterwards strangely misunderstood, and pleaded as a general amnesty by some of the worst of those traitors who had produced all the mischiefs of the preceding three months.

On the 7th of July, the national guards at the several barriers of Paris delivered up their posts to the allies; and their various forces of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, to the number of about 50,000 men, were distributed with all the precautions necessary to preserve peace. The two chambers, which were continuing their deliberations, were ordered to separate, and their hall was closed by order of the commander of the national guard. On the 8th, Louis XVIII. made his public entry, attended by a large body of the national guard, with a numerous *etat major*, among whom were the marshals Victor, Marmont, Macdonald, Oudinot, Gouvion St. Cyr, Moncey, and Lefebure. His ma-

jesty's reception was more cordial than on the same occasion in the preceding year; and, in return, although he determined to act with some degree of severity towards the principal actors in the late rebellion, he was equally anxious to pursue conciliatory measures. With this latter view it was, that, in his choice of new ministers, we find the names of Talleyrand, Louis, Fouché, Pasquier, St. Cyr, and Richelieu. On the 24th of July, he issued an ordinance, declaring that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Bonaparte, had forfeited their dignity. By another ordinance, various generals and officers, who had betrayed the king before the 23d of March, or who attacked France and the government by force of arms, were ordered to be arrested and tried. Another list was published of persons who were ordered to quit Paris, and reside in the interior, until the chambers should decide whether they were to depart from the kingdom, or be prosecuted. Of the principal military traitors, Labedoyere and Ney were selected for immediate capital punishment. Ney was most regretted, as a man of great bravery and military renown; and it was hoped, not unreasonably, that, as Bonaparte had been permitted to live, the royal clemency might have been extended to the next greatest warrior in France. But, had it been adviseable to draw the case of Bonaparte into a precedent, Ney's offence was too flagrant.

Measures were at the same time adopted for suppressing the factious disorders which still subsisted in the provinces, and various restrictions were imposed on the public press. One very severe mortification was inflicted on the Parisians, and chiefly at the instigation of prince Blucher. It had been a part of the ex-emperor's policy in plundering the states which he invaded, to remit to Paris such monuments of ancient art as were removeable. This rendered Paris an object of the highest curiosity to men of taste: but it was now to be stript of those ill-gotten treasures; and Blucher began with reclaiming the spoils, not only of Berlin and Potsdam, but of Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. The king of the Netherlands also obtained the

restitution of the valuable paintings belonging to the Belgic churches. The Austrians carried back to Venice the celebrated Corinthian horses; the pope received the products of art and literature, which had been taken away from Rome; and the other Italian states recovered their lost treasures. The king was blamed for suffering all this; but he appears rather to have been passive; and no objection could fairly be offered to the measure on the score of justice. They had been taken away by Bonaparte contrary to the usages of civilized warfare; and most of them were so connected with the countries to which they belonged, as to be, in the opinion of antiquaries and men of taste, totally out of place in a Parisian museum.

In August, a proclamation was issued for disbanding the army, and for organizing it on such principles as might render it a truly national force: but, by the terms of peace, the allies showed that they were not to trust, for a second time, to the appearances which had so lately deceived them.

These terms were settled in October, in four treaties, which included stipulations of a nature to restrain France from disturbing the tranquillity of the continent, as well as in some degree to indemnify the victors for the expenses of the campaign. In both cases we see somewhat more of liberality than prudence, but in neither, a single speck of that tyranny which France had uniformly exerted over her conquests. By these treaties, France ceded to the allies Landau, Saar-Louis, Philippeville, and Marienburg, with certain portions of territory. She ceded Versoy to the Helvetic confederation, engaged to demolish the works of Huninguen, and to erect no others within a distance of three leagues from Basle. She relinquished her rights to the principality of Monaco; but retained Avignon, the Venaissin, and the country of Mont Belliard. She engaged to pay to the allied powers, by way of indemnity for the expense of their last armaments, the sum of 700 millions of francs. She gave up, for the temporary occupation of an allied army of 150,000 men, a certain number of strong fortresses; and the army, occupying these fortresses,

under the command of a general chosen by the allied powers, was to be maintained solely at the expense of France. The duration of this military guard over the turbulence of the French was fixed at five years, with an understanding that, at the expiration of three years, the allied sovereigns, having considered the situation of affairs, and the advance made in the restoration of order and tranquillity in France, might come to a common decision with its sovereign to shorten the term. Of the pecuniary indemnity of 700 millions of francs, the sum of 187 millions was set apart for fortifying the north-eastern frontier of the Netherlands and Germany. Twelve millions and a half were to be divided among the states of Spain, Portugal, Denmark, and Switzerland, which, though prevented by the rapid course of events from bringing up their troops, were, nevertheless, parties to the league. For the corresponding reason, the sum of fifty millions was specially assigned to be divided between Great Britain and Prussia, upon whom the burthen of the war had chiefly fallen. Of the residue, being about 500 millions, Prussia, Russia, Austria, and England, were each to receive one-fifth; and the other states, which had acceded to the treaty of the 25th of March, were to receive the remaining fifth, to be divided among them according to the number of troops supplied by each power. The sum of fifty millions was fixed for the pay and other necessaries of the army of occupation, which was placed under the command of the duke of Wellington as generalissimo.

As to the changes formerly effected in consequence of the subjugation of France, they were now confirmed, but with some variations from the original plan. The union of Belgium with Holland, and the establishment of those countries as a limited monarchy, under the prince of Orange, were fixed by a constitution agreed upon in an assembly of the states-general of the united Netherlands. The catholic clergy alone seemed to be displeased with that article which allowed of universal toleration: but, when the king was inaugurated at Brussels, in September, the ceremony was performed with every mark of universal satisfac-

tion; and the principal ecclesiastic of the cathedral, in a discourse addressed to the king, claimed no more for the Roman Catholic religion than the protection guaranteed by the constitution.

Great Britain, as formerly agreed upon, was appointed protectress of the seven Ionian islands, which were recognized as an independent state. Of Poland, Cracow was acknowledged as a free and independent city; but the rest of this once-important monarchy was added to the dominions of the emperor Alexander, who assumed the title of king of Poland. Prussia obtained various acquisitions from Saxony and Denmark. The affairs of Spain, however, continued in an unsettled state, owing to the conduct of the restored king, Ferdinand, who remained averse to those alterations in the political constitution of that kingdom, which had been the object of the patriots who had fought for its liberation from French tyranny.

Of all the changes which followed the conclusion of the war, the German confederation appears one of the most important. By this act, signed on the 8th of June, at Vienna, the German states agreed to confide the management of the general affairs of the empire to a diet, composed of representatives of all the princes and free cities, including the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia, for those of their possessions which formerly belonged to the empire: the king of Denmark for Holstein; and the king of the Netherlands for the grand duchy of Luxemburg. All the members of this confederacy are to be represented in the diet by their plenipotentiaries, either singly possessing one vote, or several of the smaller states joining to form one, the total number of votes being seventeen. Frankfort-on-the-Maine is named as the place of assembly, and the representative of Austria is appointed president of the diet. Each member engages to assist in protecting, not only all Germany, but every separate state of the league, against any attack: and they reciprocally guarantee to each other the whole of their possessions included within the confederation. They severally pledge themselves to enter into no treaties hostile to the confederation, and not to make war upon one an-

other on any pretext, but to submit their differences to the decision of the diet. Other provisions in the act seem well calculated for the gradual admission of rational freedom, and the whole must form a powerful preservative against the renewal of domestic or foreign wars.

Before concluding the events of this memorable year, we may now advert to the proceedings of our parliament, in consequence of the resumption of the imperial power by Bonaparte. On the 22d of May, a message from the Prince Regent informed the parliament, that, in consequence of the events which had recently occurred in France, in direct contravention of the treaties signed at Paris in the course of the preceding year, his royal highness had thought it necessary, in concert with his majesty's allies, to enter into such engagements against the common enemy, as might prevent the recurrence of a system, which experience had shown to be incompatible with the peace and security of Europe. This message was followed by the documents, already noticed, relative to the engagements concluded with the allies. Corresponding addresses were carried; and some leading men, who habitually acted with the opposition, expressed their strong sense of the necessity of the measures to be pursued. Others, however, in the true spirit of faction, resumed their former admiration of Bonaparte, urged the magnitude of his resources, and even contended that the allies could not enter into the contest with the same prospects of advantage as last year. It was even asserted to be ridiculous to think that the contest would be terminated in a few months. A few weeks, however, were only wanting to prove the absurdity of these assertions, and that in referring them to the spirit of faction, we have committed no breach of charity or justice. In truth, there were at this time no information or facts upon which such opinions could be founded.

On the 22d of June, a message from the Prince Regent announced the glorious victory of Waterloo, and recommended an additional provision for the duke of Wellington. This call was unanimously answered by

a grant of 200,000*l.*, in addition to the former rewards by which his extraordinary merits had been acknowledged. The thanks of parliament were afterwards voted to his grace, and to many officers of distinction in his army; to prince Blucher and the Prussian army; and to the allied troops under the duke's command. The services of the British troops were ordered to be commemorated with various honourable marks of distinction. All the regiments of cavalry and infantry engaged in the battle were allowed to bear on their colours the word WATERLOO; an extensive promotion took place among the officers; and the men were permitted to account two years for that victory, in reckoning their services for increase of pay, or for pension when discharged. But the most splendid and substantial monument of national gratitude was the public subscription for the relief of the wounded, and of the relatives of those who fell in the battle. This very speedily rose to above half a million sterling, and, under the judicious management of a board of trustees, has proved a substantial benefit.

Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, by a speech from the throne, consisting principally of a recapitulation of the extraordinary events on the continent.

In the course of this year, the British government in Bengal was involved in a war with the state of Nepaul or Napal, a territory situated to the northward of the province of Oude. Sir David Ochterlony was sent against these Napalese, whose frequent encroachments on the British territories could no longer be tolerated; and, after various engagements, their chief surrendered himself, and the whole tract of border land in dispute was ceded to the English East-India Company. A more important warfare was carried on in the island of Ceylon. For many years the king of Candy had carried on occasional hostilities against the British frontier, and had also exercised the most oppressive tyranny upon his own subjects. His cruelties at length became so atrocious, that it was determined by the British governor and commander-in-chief, lieutenant-general Brownrigg, to assist the natives in

throwing off the yoke; and, early in the year, an expedition to the interior of the island was undertaken by the British troops. In this they were ready to be joined by the oppressed subjects of the tyrant, and when they entered Ceylon, they found it deserted. The king had fled with a small number of adherents, and within a few days was surrounded and taken prisoner by his own subjects, and delivered up to the British. On the 2d of May, a treaty was signed in a solemn assembly of the adikars, or nobles, and other chiefs of the provinces, by which the Candian empire was vested in the king of Great Britain, under certain restrictions agreeable to both parties. The acquisition of this fruitful island was not the less estimable because it was made without bloodshed, and secured by the general consent of the people.

LETTER CXII.

THE parliament, which assembled on the 1st of February, was opened by commission. The speech 1816.
adverted to the glorious results of the late campaign; but a statement was exhibited of the flourishing condition of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the kingdom, which many thought rather too flattering. In the subsequent financial arrangements the chancellor of the exchequer was obliged to abandon the property-tax, in consequence of the numerous petitions against it; and as this deficiency required him to have recourse to loans, he gave up also the war malt-duties. Several of the propositions offered to this parliament occasioned warm discussion, and a frequent trial of the strength of parties; but few ended in any changes of a permanent nature. The most important financial measures were, the extension of the restriction-act on cash-payments made by the Bank, until July 1818; the consolidation of the English and Irish exchequers; and an act for a new silver coinage, which last was particularly acceptable to the public. The discussions on the question of catholic emancipa-

tion ended as on former occasions, but the majorities against it were not great.

Two bills were introduced and passed, respecting a personage of whom we shall hear little more in the course of the present reign. The one of these was more effectually to regulate the safe custody of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the other to regulate the intercourse of neutral ships with St. Helena, while Bonaparte should be detained on that island. Doubts had been entertained, whether it was competent to the crown to detain Bonaparte a prisoner after the termination of the war: and the present bill was deemed necessary to remove those doubts. As to the justice and policy of detaining Bonaparte in custody, and the legality of the proceeding, with reference to the law of nations, no doubt could reasonably be entertained. Lord Castlereagh, who introduced these bills, stated that, as a sovereign prince, we were warranted in detaining him, in consequence of his breach of treaty, and incapacity to afford any guarantee for the observance of any treaty: we had also this additional ground to justify our conduct, that he was a prisoner of war, who, as a native of Corsica, was the subject of France, which power had declined to claim his restoration. Therefore, independently of his general character, this country was justified in detaining him in custody, according to the law of nations. But the circumstance of Bonaparte's having withdrawn from Elba, where he had pledged himself by a solemn treaty to remain, and his utter inability to afford any assurance for the observance of any engagements, warranted his detention. With regard to the treatment of Bonaparte, it was proposed to extend to him every indulgence that was consistent with his safe custody, and that he should experience the most liberal treatment as a prisoner of war. With respect to the intercourse of foreign nations with St. Helena, the object of the second bill was to regulate the execution of the measure which had been already notified by government to neutral powers.

In the month of March, a message was sent from the prince regent to both houses of parliament, an-

nouncing the marriage-contract of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness the prince Leopold of Saxe-Cobourg, and expressing his persuasion of the concurrence of parliament in enabling him to make such provision, in regard to that marriage, as might be suitable to the honour and dignity of the country. On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, an annual sum of 60,000*l.* was voted to the illustrious pair, of which 10,000*l.* was to form a sort of privy-purse for her royal highness, and the remainder to defray the domestic expenses of the prince of Cobourg: this sum to be granted to them during their joint lives. If the prince should die first, the whole sum was to be continued to her royal highness; if he should be the survivor, the sum of 50,000*l.* was to be continued to him. On a subsequent motion, the sum of 60,000*l.* was granted by way of outfit, and a bill was passed for the naturalization of the prince of Cobourg. The marriage ceremony was performed on the 2d of May, at the Queen's Palace, in the presence of the prince regent, the queen, and the rest of the royal family: and the event called forth the sincere congratulations of the nation. In July, another royal marriage took place, between the princess Mary, fourth daughter of his majesty, and her cousin the duke of Gloucester; but they framed their establishment upon such a scale, as to render unnecessary any application to the public purse.

Although the continent was now restored to a freedom from all alarms of the warlike kind, the British arms were not yet destined to rest. A naval expedition was this year undertaken, in the success of which every civilized state was interested, and perhaps it was a reproach to the greatest naval power of Europe, that it had not been undertaken many years before. After the conclusion of the peace of 1814, the pirates of Tunis and Algiers, availing themselves of the favourable change in regard to the freedom of commerce, had carried their depredations to an extent which demanded the interference of the British government. Early in the spring, lord Exmouth was sent to Algiers, and sir Thomas Maitland, his majesty's lord high com-

missioner in the Ionian isles, to Tunis, in order to procure some amicable arrangement with the respective governments of those states. They accordingly obtained some important concessions; a great number of captives were instantly set at liberty; and although the demand of abolishing Christian slavery was not immediately complied with, assurances were given that an immediate communication should be made on that subject to the Ottoman Porte, and that if the grand signor expressed his disapprobation, the practice should be for ever discontinued. On the faith of these promises, sir Thomas Maitland returned to Malta, and lord Exmouth with his fleet to England.

After their departure, the Algerines instantly resumed their hostilities, by the seizure and imprisonment of the British vice-consul, and by an atrocious massacre of the crews of some Corsican and Neapolitan vessels, who carried on a coral-fishery at Bona, under the protection of the British flag. When the news of this outrage reached England, it was determined that lord Exmouth should return to Algiers, with a formidable armament, to take vengeance for the infraction of a treaty so recently concluded. He accordingly sailed in his own ship, the Queen Charlotte, of 110 guns, accompanied by the Impregnable of 98, three 74's, five frigates, and several smaller armed vessels, and arriving at Gibraltar early in August, was there joined by the Dutch squadron of five frigates and a sloop, under the command of admiral Vander Capellen.

Before proceeding on his enterprise, the British admiral sent the Prometheus, captain Dashwood, to Algiers, for the purpose of bringing away the English consul and his family. The captain had an interview with the dey, who informed him that he was well aware of lord Exmouth's designs, and was prepared to resist any armament which might be brought against him. He had, as we have noticed, already placed the consul in confinement, and positively rejected all applications for his release. Captain Dashwood succeeded, however, in bringing away in disguise the consul's wife and daughter: and his infant child was to

follow in a basket; but it was discovered by its cries, and carried back to the city: the dey, however, had the humanity to send it to its mother next morning.

On the 27th of August, the whole armament came in sight of Algiers, and lord Exmouth sent a flag of truce, with a statement of the demands which he was instructed to make. These were, the immediate release of all Christian slaves, without ransom; the restitution of all money which had been received for Sardinian and Neapolitan captives, since the beginning of the year; a solemn declaration from the dey, that he would in future respect the rights of humanity, and treat all prisoners taken in war according to the usage of European nations; and, lastly, peace with the king of the Netherlands on the same terms as with England. No answer being returned within the time stipulated, (three hours,) orders were issued for the ships to occupy the stations assigned to them. The firing commenced at three in the afternoon, and was continued without intermission until past nine. The Algerine batteries played with such effect, that nearly 800 of the assailants were killed: but the victory was complete: nearly the whole Algerine navy, the arsenal, and all the military stores, were consumed by fire: and several thousand men were killed or wounded. Lord Exmouth next morning sent a letter to the dey, offering him the same terms which he had so contemptuously rejected, and, after an interval of three hours, these terms were accepted, and deputies were sent on board the Queen Charlotte to complete the negociation. At noon all the Christian slaves in Algiers, except one, a Spaniard, whose liberation lord Exmouth afterwards demanded, under a threat of renewing the bombardment, were marched to the shore, and delivered up. Nearly four hundred thousand dollars were paid into the hands of the victor, as the amount of the ransom-money received from Naples and Sardinia since the commencement of the year. Some other points having been adjusted, and the dey having publicly begged pardon of the British consul in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte, lord Exmouth departed on the 3d of September, and, upon his arrival

in England, was received with the respect due to his merit, the prince regent adding to his baronial honours the title of viscount.

The peace in India, noticed in the conclusion of my last letter, was disturbed this year by the refusal of the rajah of Nepaul to ratify the treaty which he had signed. But, early in February, the British reduced the strong and important fortress of Hurryhurpore; and, on the 27th, obtained a decisive victory over the Ghoorkas, which enabled them to advance against Muckwampore. The rajah now acceded to the terms of the former treaty, and peace was ratified on the 4th of March. These successes were honoured with a vote of thanks by the parliament. Lord Moira was raised to the dignity of a marquis, by the title of marquis of Hastings, and sir David Ochterlony, who had been created a baronet, now received the grand cross of the order of the bath.

LETTER CXIII.

It was not without reason that many were of opinion, that the description given of the flourishing condition of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the kingdom, when the parliament assembled, was rather too flattering. In truth, it was rather what might have been supposed to follow a war concluded so successfully, than what really took place. Unfortunately, certain consequences followed this war which were quite unusual, and could not have been anticipated. In the first place, the war itself had not been accompanied by many of those calamitous effects experienced on former occasions. Our naval superiority had enabled us to maintain an uninterrupted commerce with the greater part of Europe, and the preparation of warlike stores for ourselves and allies had enriched our manufacturers to a degree never known in any former period. One effect, therefore, of peace, was to put a stop to this vast demand, and to throw thousands of artisans out of employment. In the second

place, foreign trade, which, during this long period of continental distraction, we had almost monopolized, was thrown open; and those nations, which had formerly been obliged to be our customers, were now resuming their own manufactures, and reviving their former commercial relations.

To the losses arising from these resources, we may add those agricultural distresses, as they were called, which had for some time engaged the attention of parliament. But however highly we may rate the wisdom of the legislature in other matters, it has been doubted whether it can be successfully resorted to in the case of an article, the plenty and profit of which depend so much on causes over which human wisdom can have no control. Foreign supplies of corn are ever contemplated with jealousy by our farmers; and it is their maxim, that the growth of the country is at all times adequate to its consumption. In this confidence it was gravely proposed, in the beginning of this year, to repeal that clause in the corn-bill of the former year, which permitted the warehousing of foreign corn duty-free. But, fortunately, this proposition was rejected, as the weather of this year proved remarkably inclement, and the harvest greatly deficient. These points, however, had been too frequently agitated in the public councils, and the populace, unhappily, caught the prejudices of a certain part of our legislators, and broke out in acts of outrage, which rendered agricultural property no longer secure.

To lessen these evils, and to give a temporary supply to the lower classes, suffering as well by the visitation of Providence, as by the check given to manufactures, various plans of relief were projected and carried into execution by benevolent individuals; and endeavours were made to impress on the minds of the public, that when trade returned into its more regular channels, it would again revive, and days of comfort, if not of plenty, again return. That these persuasions had considerable effect, was apparent in many parts of the country, where the suffering manufacturers bore their privations with great patience. That this was not more generally the case, must be traced to causes very

different from those which we have assigned for the present distresses.

From the first breaking out of the French revolution, a republican or jacobinical spirit had been introduced, and encouraged by a succession of seditious societies, writings, and proceedings. These had been occasionally checked either by the ordinary or extraordinary operations of the law: sometimes by the ordinary restraints on the press in the case of flagrant and dangerous libels; and sometimes by the repeal of the habeas corpus act, which brought the leaders of faction and treason more within the control of the civil magistrate. Of those changes in the constitution, (for such they are, however necessary,) some notice has been taken in the history of the last war. That they were generally effectual to check the open acts of the turbulent, cannot be denied; but they were never entirely sufficient to eradicate that spirit of tumult and insubordination which had been so much encouraged at different periods of the present reign. There still remained a lurking tendency towards disaffection and disloyalty, which took every opportunity to prove its existence when the above-mentioned restraints were taken off, and when, according to all appearance, it might be displayed with impunity.

The present distresses of the country seemed a very fit opportunity for certain demagogues to work upon the feelings of the populace, and goad them on to threats of defiance, and acts of outrage. Immense assemblies of the people were accordingly gathered together, and harangues delivered by persons, either not much above their own rank, or by others, men of desperate fortunes, and infamous private character, some of whom had long earned the bread of sedition and disloyalty. The ostensible object to be attained in these meetings were petitions in favour of annual parliaments and universal suffrage. These petitions were on all occasions rejected by parliament; and, in most cases, in order that the legislators might appear the enemies of the people, their rejection was artfully secured, by the arrogant and disrespectful style in which they were drawn up.

Parliamentary reform, first advanced about the year 1779 or 1780, was a topic frequently brought forward by the opposition party; but on no occasion was any specific plan laid down on which that or any party could agree. Not so with the present political speculators. They fairly and openly avowed that their plan was annual parliaments and universal suffrage, and they persuaded their deluded hearers, that, while nothing else could alleviate their present sufferings, they must now cease petitioning parliament, which had rejected it, and depend upon physical strength. Their meetings therefore were continued, and their passions excited by every species of inflammatory address. Two meetings of this kind took place in Spa-fields, near London, the last of which began with a riot, which for a time created an unusual alarm; and although there appeared not much of premeditation or plan, yet it showed very convincingly the progress that was making in the great business of insurrection. Some hours before the appointed time of this meeting, a young villain of the name of Watson, after uttering an inflammatory harangue, seized a flag from one of the mob, and, placing himself at their head, marched into the City, and attempted to plunder the shop of a gunsmith in Skinner-street. There he fired a pistol at a gentleman named Platt, who was remonstrating with him, and who was dangerously, though not mortally, wounded. The assassin afterwards made his escape to America. This mob then proceeded down the City in military array, and had the audacity to fire at the lord-mayor, after three of the rioters had been seized by him, and confined within the Royal Exchange. They afterwards plundered two or three shops of arms of various kinds, before they were dispersed or taken, and peace restored by a military force. The meeting, however, assembled in Spa-fields at the hour appointed; and, notwithstanding what had happened, the orator of the day was quietly permitted to address his hearers, without any interruption from the civil power.

This occurred on the 2d of December, and what followed on the 28th of January, showed that these

orators had not been unsuccessful in debasing the minds of the populace. On that day, when
1817. the prince regent proceeded to open parliament, his passage through Westminster was interrupted by a riotous multitude: and, in returning, the glass of his carriage was broken by a stone, or other missile, which was aimed at his royal person. In his speech, which of course was prepared before this event occurred, his royal highness adverted to the attempts made to take advantage of the distresses of the country, for the purpose of exciting a spirit of sedition and violence; expressed his determination to omit no precaution for preserving the public peace; and testified his reliance on the cordial co-operation of parliament in upholding a system of law and government universally acknowledged to be the best which had ever fallen to the lot of any people.

On the 3d of February, a message was sent to both houses, announcing that orders had been given for the communication of papers respecting certain practices, meetings, and combinations in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom, evidently calculated to endanger the public tranquillity, and to alienate the affections of his majesty's subjects from his person and government, and to bring into hatred and contempt the whole system of our laws and constitution. The papers were taken into consideration on the following day, and referred by each house to a secret committee, whose reports were presented on the 18th and 19th.

From the documents submitted to these committees, from various parts of the country, it appeared that attempts had recently been made to take advantage of the distresses of the labouring and manufacturing classes of the nation, with a view not only to effect a parliamentary reform on the principle of annual parliaments and universal suffrage, but to cause the total overthrow of all our institutions, and of every description of landed and funded property. This system of general spoliation chiefly proceeded from the doctrines maintained by a number of societies, distinguished by the title of *Spencean*, whose tenets were principally drawn from the works of a visionary writer, published

about twenty years ago. In some of those societies it was urged, that parliamentary reform must be held out as the ostensible object of their efforts, and with a view to mislead their enemies, but that in fact it was only a half measure; and that the people ought to look to the possession of the land, and nothing short of that; and that, as to the constitution, of which so much had been said, this country had no constitution; for it was not to be found in any book, nor could any man tell what it was. In other societies, founded on the Spencean principles, it had been maintained, that the only remedy for the grievances of the people, was to hunt down the land-owners, and to deprive those still greater wretches, the fund-holders, of their pretended rights.

In these and other societies of a similar character the most blasphemous and impious proceedings took place; and in those which were of a convivial nature, their political discussions were followed by songs of the most inflammatory and seditious description, and by the recitation of profane parodies of the liturgy, and of various parts of the Holy Scriptures. In order to extend the principles of these societies over the whole kingdom, the most active efforts were made by their various members; and, in consequence, those principles were disseminated in speeches at public meetings to the discharged soldiers, and to the distressed labourers and manufacturers of the country; and, in aid of this object, incredible activity was used to disperse cheap and, in many instances, gratuitous publications, unfolding the doctrines of the societies.

It was also satisfactorily proved, that a number of the members of these various societies, acting in a body as delegates, conceived and declared, that, in their opinion, the objects which they had in view might be, and ought to be, insured by an effort of the physical strength of the people to overpower the constitutional authorities. And the first step which should be taken by them for this purpose, was, by their individual exertions to discover and foment the discontents of the metropolis and its vicinity; and that returns of their proceedings should be made by the individual delegates to the general body. A plan was likewise form-

ed, by a sudden rising in the dead of night, to surprise the soldiers, and, in the terror which would be thereby occasioned, to set fire to the town in various places, and to take possession of the barracks, the Tower, and the Bank. To assist in the execution of this project, a formidable machine was invented, with which the streets could be cleared of all opposing force. This plan was, however, relinquished as premature: and it was resolved, that it would be more proper to ascertain the strength of the popular party, by convening meetings under the pretext of taking into consideration the legal mode of redressing grievances; and, a map of London having been examined, Spa-fields was selected as the place whence an attack on the Bank and Tower could with the greatest facility be made. The first meeting at Spa-fields was accordingly advertised for the 15th of November, and printed and written placards were exhibited in all parts of the town, containing the most inflammatory expressions.

The intended insurrection assumed all the symbols of the French revolution. A committee of public safety was formed, consisting of twenty-four members; and flags and cockades were prepared for the occasion. On the day appointed for the meeting there was no violence, except some plunder in the evening, and the meeting adjourned to the 2d of December, by which time it was hoped means might be found to accelerate the accomplishment of the projected undertaking. Accordingly, not a moment was lost, in the interval between the first and second meeting, to take advantage of every circumstance which could further the attainment of the objects in view. Additional publications of an inflammatory nature were circulated every where. Endeavours were made to raise a general subscription for the support of those who had relinquished their ordinary occupations, to enable them to devote themselves to these purposes, which persons had hitherto chiefly been paid by a principal member of one of the societies. A plan was formed for the seduction of the soldiers, by raising hopes of promotion in the event of their joining in the approaching attempt, and exciting discontent among them by a story of the landing of a large

foreign force in the country. It was again recommended that the barracks should be the object of particular observation. Those quarters of the town where distress was most prevalent were visited by individuals appointed to inflame the people. Those warehouses along the river, and those shops in various parts of the town, where arms were deposited, were carefully noted. A plan was also formed for the seduction of the sailors, by offering them additional pay under the new government which was about to be established.

Immediately before the meeting of the 2d of December, many persons connected with these proceedings procured arms of various descriptions. It was thought that sufficient means had thus been obtained to carry on the intended operations for at least two hours, by which time it was supposed enough would be got from the gunsmiths and other places, to arm a considerable number of individuals; and the manufacture of tri-colour riband was encouraged, with a view of rendering it familiar to the eyes of the public. A large quantity of pike-heads had been ordered, delivered, and paid for. It was also intended to liberate the prisoners in the principal gaols in or about the metropolis, in the hope of their concurrence in the intended insurrection. To promote this, addresses were introduced into some of those prisons, and recommended to be communicated to others, in which the persons confined were invited, in the name of the tri-colour committee, to rally round the tri-colour standard, which would be erected on Monday, December 2, and to wear tri-coloured cockades themselves. It was promised that the prisoners should be liberated by force, and arms were stated to be provided for them, and they were directed to be ready to assist in overpowering the turnkeys.

A waggon was hired for the business of the day, in which the flags, and banner, or standard, which had been previously prepared, together with some ammunition, were secretly conveyed to the place of meeting. From this waggon, before the ostensible business of the day commenced, in the other part of the field, the most inflammatory speeches were delivered, tending

directly to excite insurrection, and concluded by an appeal to the multitude assembled, whether they were prepared to redress their own grievances. A tri-colour cockade was then exhibited, the tri-colour flag was displayed, and a number of persons followed it out of the field. The direction which they took was towards that part of the town previously designed: gunsmiths' shops were broken open, addresses and offers were made to the soldiers at the Tower, to induce them to open the gates: but, from the failure of the numbers expected to join the insurgents, no attempt was made to force the gates. An attack was, however, made upon the City magistrates assembled in the Royal Exchange, a shot fired, and a tri-colour flag and cockade openly displayed and seized on the offender.

The committees conclude this part of their report by observing, that, however improbable the success of such a plan may appear, yet it was deliberately premeditated by desperate men, who calculated without reasonable ground upon defection in their opposers, and upon active support from those multitudes whose distress they had witnessed, and whom they had vainly instigated to revolt. Consequently it was not merely the sudden ebullition of the moment, or the unauthorized attempt of any unconnected individual; and notwithstanding this failure, the same designs continued to be prosecuted with sanguine hopes of success.

With regard to the state of the country, there was very clear proof of the widely diffused ramification of a system of clubs associated professedly for the purpose of parliamentary reform, upon the most extended principle of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. These clubs in general designated themselves by the same name of Hampden clubs; and, on the professed object of their institution, they appeared to be in communication and connexion with the club of that name in London.

It appeared to be part of the system of these clubs to promote an extension of clubs of the same name and nature, so widely as, if possible, to include every village in the kingdom; and the leading members were active in the circulation of publications likely to pro-

mote their object. Petitions, ready prepared, were sent down from the metropolis to all societies in the country disposed to receive them. The communication between these clubs was managed by the mission of delegates: delegates from these clubs assembled in London, and were expected to assemble again early in March. From every information it was evident that, in far the greater number of them, and particularly in those which were established in the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire, and which are composed of the lower order of artizans, nothing short of a revolution was the object expected and avowed.

It likewise appeared that the doctrines of the Spencean clubs had been widely diffused through the country, either by the extension of similar societies, or more frequently by the intervention of missionaries or delegates, whose business it was to propagate those doctrines throughout every society to which they have access. It was the universal practice of these societies to require from the members a small weekly subscription, in order to provide a fund for the expenses of these missionaries, and also for the purchase of seditious tracts, which were read and commented on at their meetings. Some of these tracts, which were perused by the committees, inculcated, in the most artful manner, the necessity of overturning what they called the "privileged class," as distinguished from the people, who are described as consisting of labourers, artizans, tradesmen, and every profession useful to society. A new order is declared to be the will of the people; rebellion is justified by the assertion, that a nation cannot be a rebel; and all religion is disavowed, as well as loyalty, by the assertion, in answer to the question, "Would you live without Gods or kings? We abjure tyranny of every kind."

It appeared to be a part of the system adopted by these societies, to prepare the minds of the people for the destruction of the present frame of society, by undermining not only their habits of decent and regular subordination, but all the principles of morality and religion. There was scarcely any very numerous so-

ciety in which some of the leading speakers did not openly avow the most seditious opinions, and did not excite their hearers to be prepared for actual insurrection. Topics for discussion were selected with this view: amongst others, the question, "Whether the jacobin or the loyalist was the best friend to his country?" Even when petitioning is recommended, it is proposed to be conducted in such a manner, by an immense number of delegates attending in London at the same time, in several parties, attached to each petition, as might induce an effort to obtain by force whatever they demanded. A general idea seemed prevalent among those who compose these societies, that some fixed day, at no great distance, was to be appointed for a general rising. They were taught to look to the meetings in London as the signal for their operations, and were in the habit of adjourning their own assemblies simultaneously to the same day; and it is a lamentable instance of the common interest which they felt, if not of the connexion which was formed with those most implicated in the outrages committed in the metropolis, that, about Manchester and some other places, the greatest exultation was manifested previous to the meeting in Spa-fields on the 2d of December: and the taking of the Tower and the ruin of the Bank were publicly and confidently predicted. The news of the result was impatiently expected; the roads were crowded during the night with a number of persons, many of them delegates from the different societies in the country, waiting for the arrival of the mail-coach; and the disappointment was not concealed, when it was ascertained that the riot had been quelled without much serious or extensive mischief.

It appeared, also, that the confidence of the disaffected was such, that they represented the numbers enrolled as amounting to several hundred thousand, and that their societies were daily increasing; that in their lists they distinguished, by particular marks, those among their subscribers who were able-bodied men, and ready to act when required; and that they also kept a list of those who refused to join them, in what they called a "Black Book," and threatened venge-

ance against those persons when the general insurrection should take place. In some parts of our populous country, where nearly every village has its Hampden club, the members make it no secret that they consider themselves as of no other use than as being ready to act whenever they are called upon: on their admission they are said to be listed, and receive a secret card, with the words, "Be ready, be steady."

The habits and manners of these persons seemed entirely changed; they already calculated upon the share of land which each was to possess, and pointed out the destruction of the churches, as the necessary consequence of their success. Great preparations were in progress, in several places, for providing arms: the demand upon gunsmiths for every species of fire-arms was beyond all former example; the intention was professed of having recourse for a still larger supply to those towns where arms are manufactured, and where they were to be obtained at a very low rate, from the general cheapness of labour at this time; or, in case of necessity, they were to be seized by force. The facility of converting implements of husbandry into offensive weapons was also suggested; and persons were sent to observe the state of particular places, where depots of arms for the public service were supposed to have been formed. The same system of insubordination and disaffection was proved to have extended itself to Scotland, a part of the empire formerly distinguished not only for the industry, but the piety of the lower classes; characteristics which had been awfully changed by the dissemination of seditious and impious publications.

In order to check proceedings, from which such danger was to be expected, the measures proposed by ministers were derived from precedents of which too many had been rendered necessary in the course of the present reign. These were the temporary suspension of the habeas corpus act; the extension of the act, passed in 1795, for the security of his majesty's person, to the prince regent, as the person exercising the functions of royalty; the incorporation into one act of the provisions of the act of 1795, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies; and of the provisions of

the act of the 39th of the king, declaring the illegality of all societies bound by secret oaths, or extending themselves by fraternized branches over the kingdom; and an act for punishing with the utmost rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers and sailors into any association or set of men, and withdraw them from their allegiance. These measures, as on former occasions, excited considerable discussion, but were passed by decided majorities; and subsequent events showed, within no great length of time, that the reports on which they were founded had not been partially drawn up.

In truth, even before the conclusion of the session, another report became necessary respecting the continuance of those combinations which had so recently engaged the attention of parliament. Having explained so fully, from the preceding reports, the plans of the disaffected, it may now be sufficient to give an abridged sketch of the farther discoveries. It now appeared that their projects of insurrection were confined to the principal manufacturing districts in some of the midland and northern counties of England, and that Manchester and its neighbourhood might be considered the focus of insurrection. At a numerous meeting held there on the 3d of March, for the purpose of petitioning against the suspension of the habeas corpus act, an adjournment took place until the 10th, with the professed intention, that ten out of every twenty persons attending it, should proceed to London with a petition to the prince regent. In the interval, various consultations took place, and the people were told that, if their petition was rejected, they must force it; that the large towns in Yorkshire were following the same plan, and that their deputations would march at the same time; that there was reason to believe the Scotch were then on their march, and that, when joined by the people of other manufacturing districts on the road, the concourse would be one hundred thousand strong. Those intending to march were exhorted to provide themselves with blankets, shoes, and knapsacks, and with money and food. Those who remained behind were to assist with subscriptions.

Every ten men were to choose a leader, and one was to be placed over every hundred. Strong intimations were also given of the propriety and necessity of providing themselves with arms: but those do not appear to have been acted upon, except in a few instances. At the time appointed, about 12,000 persons assembled: and though some of the main agents of the plot were arrested, large numbers marched off towards London, and one party proceeded as far as Ashbourne; but their further progress was prevented by the active interference of the magistrates. After this failure, there were various meetings of delegates from the neighbourhood of Manchester, from the borders of Derbyshire, and from the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire. On the night of the 30th of March, it was intended that a general insurrection should commence at Manchester: the magistrates to be seized, the prisoners to be liberated, and a number of cotton-mills to be set on fire, for the purpose of drawing the soldiers from the barracks, of which a party, stationed near them, was to take possession. Proclamations were to be issued, declaring the king's subjects absolved from their allegiance, and denouncing death against all opposers. These atrocious designs were defeated by the apprehension and confinement of some of the ringleaders, a few days before the period fixed for carrying them into execution. In the month of May, another general rising was to have taken place, and Nottingham was fixed upon as the head-quarters of the insurgents: but the plan was again thwarted by the activity of the magistrates, and the ready assistance afforded, under their orders, by the regular troops and yeomanry. The intelligence procured respecting the plans of the agitators, was confirmed by the appearance of bodies of men in arms, at the precise periods stated to have been appointed for the insurrection. The reports concluded by ascribing the preservation of tranquillity to the actual exercise of the powers which parliament had entrusted to the executive government; and by stating that the time was not yet arrived, when the protection of the lives, and properties of his majesty's subjects could be allowed to

rest upon the ordinary powers of the law. An act was, therefore, passed for continuing, until the 1st of March, 1818, the suspension of the habeas corpus act.

Very little opposition was made to this measure in either house of parliament its necessity appearing rather more obvious than on the former occasion, except by a few, who considered it as a dangerous encroachment on the liberties of Englishmen, and who maintained, that certain spies, from whom ministers obtained some part of their information, were themselves the fomentors of the plots which they revealed. This last reason, however, which was never clearly proved, had little weight; and as to any encroachment on the liberties of Englishmen, by the suspension of the habeas corpus, and the acts against seditious assemblies, the majority of Englishmen, both in and out of parliament, considered that liberty was nothing without security, and that there could be no security to the quiet enjoyment of person and property, while lawless bands were permitted to excite successive alarms.

Some trials for high treason, which occurred in the course of the year, afforded no small confirmation to the truths contained in the late parliamentary reports; for although four persons, tried in London for high treason, were acquitted, owing to the discredit thrown on the testimony of a witness who had been somewhat of an accomplice, and was now an informer, yet the plot he disclosed was, a few years after, clearly proved, and Thistlewood, one of the persons now acquitted, was found guilty on the clearest evidence, and executed along with several accomplices. In October, too, of the present year, a number of persons were tried for high treason, at Derby, by a special commission. Three of them, Brandreth, Turner, and Ludlam, whose offence was attended with circumstances of peculiar aggravation, were found guilty, and executed.

LETTER CXIV.

THE year 1817 concluded with an event, which produced more general and unfeigned grief throughout the nation, than any occurrence within the memory of man. I allude to the sudden and much-lamented death of the Princess Charlotte, which took place on the morning of November 6. Her royal highness had been delivered of a still-born male child, at nine o'clock on the preceding night, and was for some time supposed to be free from danger: but, about half-past twelve, she was seized with great difficulty of breathing, restlessness, and exhaustion, and expired about half-past two o'clock in the morning. Never was a calamity of this kind so keenly felt, or so little expected. So eagerly was the public attention fixed upon a future successor to the throne, that none of the dangers incident to her royal highness's situation had ever been contemplated: but the bitterness of disappointment and of sorrow were soon diffused, and the loss of this amiable princess was long and deeply regretted.

Her remains were conveyed to the royal vault at Windsor, on November 19, with every solemnity suited to the melancholy occasion; prince Leopold himself, the inconsolable husband, sustaining the afflicting office of chief mourner. His highness shared largely in the public sympathy. He had obtained general esteem and respect by his domestic conduct, his private virtues, and his elegant acquirements; and he now endeared himself to the country by the tenderness and warmth of affection which he exhibited through the whole of this last agonizing trial.

The session of parliament commenced on the 28th of January, with a speech delivered by commission, in which the prince regent, after acknowledging the public sympathy for the untimely death of his beloved and only child, added, that his royal highness had not been unmindful of the effect which this sad event must have on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom. This, it afterwards appeared, was designed to convey an allusion to the intended

1818.

marriages of some of his royal highness's younger brothers, which were accordingly announced in the months of April and May following. These were the marriage of the duke of Clarence with the princess of Saxe-Meiningen; of the duke of Cambridge with the princess of Hesse; and of the duke of Kent with the widow of the late prince of Leiningen, sister to prince Leopold of Cobourg, all which took place in the course of this year.

The royal speech also adverted to the favourable change which had taken place in almost every department of public industry, and the progressive improvement of the revenue. Treaties, it was announced, had been concluded with the courts of Spain and Portugal, on the subject of the abolition of the slave-trade. Another subject was recommended to the attention of parliament, which had been long conceived of very high importance to the welfare of the country. This was the deficiency so strikingly apparent in the number of places of public worship belonging to the established church, when compared with the increased and increasing population of the country. In consequence of this recommendation, a grant of one million sterling was voted, to be raised by exchequer bills, and applied as occasion might require, under the direction of commissioners appointed by the crown. A bill was subsequently introduced to impower the king in council, on a representation to that effect, to order the division of a parish, for ecclesiastical purposes, into two or more parochial districts, each of which was to have its church and minister; and to authorize the erection of chapels of ease, of which the ministers were to be respectively nominated by the incumbent of the parish, subject to the approbation of the diocesan, and without deranging the civil or secular rule of such parish. This plan was so generally approved by a part of the public, that a very considerable sum was raised, by subscription, in aid of the above fund; but the enemies of the establishment were not then, and have not since been, remiss in impeding the great work.

One of the first measures proposed by ministers in this parliament was to repeal the suspension of the

habeas-corpus act, and to propose a bill of indemnity for those who had acted under the suspension act in apprehending suspected persons, or in the suppression of tumultuous assemblies. The former passed rapidly through both houses: the latter occasioned considerable discussion, but was finally carried by great majorities. Before the indemnity bill was introduced, a series of papers was presented to parliament, containing information respecting the state of the country, and was referred to a secret committee of both houses. In the report of these committees, a short retrospect was taken of former proceedings, and a representation made of the state of the country, as to the progress of seditious and disorganizing principles and practices, which the experience of a very short time proved to be too favourable; and proved, also, that the restraints now taken off from tumultuary agitators were premature. At the close of this session the parliament was dissolved.

While Great Britain was thus disturbed by a revolutionary banditti, France presented a more agreeable spectacle. In the beginning of November, the plenipotentiaries of the courts of Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, whence they sent to the French minister, the duke de Richelieu, the following important notification, that as the order of things established by the restoration of the legitimate and constitutional monarchy of that country gave assurance of that state of tranquillity in France which was necessary for the repose of Europe, they had commanded the immediate discontinuance of the military occupation of the French territory. The foreign troops were, in consequence, withdrawn; and there has since appeared very little reason to doubt the stability of the throne of Louis XVIII.

The demise of her majesty, queen Charlotte, is the only other domestic event of importance belonging to the present year. Her majesty had long been declining in health, and, on that account, the parliament had made some alteration in that part of the regency act which related to the care of the king's person, so as to relieve her majesty from constant attendance.

She died, at the palace of Kew, on November 7, in the seventy-fifth year of her age, highly respected and regretted as a pattern of conjugal and maternal conduct, and one who had dignified her high station by a strict adherence to moral and religious decorum.

Hostilities had been carrying on in our East-Indian possessions for the two or three last years, of which, however, as they were rather of a local than general importance, a brief memoir may be sufficient. On the side of Bombay, a force, under colonel East, was employed in reducing some refractory Arabs in the service of the petty princes of Guzaret, and afterwards in bringing the state of Cutch under the control of the British government. In April, 1816, there were some disturbances of an alarming nature at Bareilly, in Rohilcond, originating in a small assessment imposed on the inhabitants, and military force became necessary to restore tranquillity. But the more serious disturbances were created by the Pindarees. These freebooters had been gradually increasing in force since 1804, and for some time had been carrying on cruel depredations in the provinces possessed by the native powers, and had also occasioned much annoyance to the British. This year they made an inroad into Guntoes, one of the northern circars, ravaged and laid waste that rich district, and committed acts of the most unparalleled barbarity against the inhabitants. The loss sustained by government was estimated at a million sterling: but the movements of the Pindarees were so skilfully conducted, that our troops could never bring them into action. In the following year, however, a considerable army of them was surprised and defeated at Cowah, by major Lushington. Captain Caulfield attacked another body of them, and drove them, with great loss, beyond the Nerbudda. The same year some discussions, which had arisen with the government of Poonah, terminated in a new treaty between the Company and the Peishwa, explaining and amending the articles of the treaty of Bassein, and containing provisions calculated to improve the alliance, and render permanent the harmony of the two governments. During the present

year, the British were engaged, not only against the Pindarees, but against a formidable combination of the native princes, which ended in the capture and deposing of the Peishwa, and the destruction of the Mahratta power. A rebellion also broke out in some of the provinces of Ceylon, in favour of a pretender to royalty; but, by the spirited exertions of the governor, sir Robert Brownrigg, it was effectually suppressed.

LETTER CXV.

THE new parliament assembled on the 14th of January, and soon after placed the custody of the king's person in the hands of the duke of York, subject to the assistance of a council. This was rendered necessary by the demise of the queen, and occasioned very little discussion. Various debates took place respecting the state of the finances, and, that often-contested question, the resumption of cash-payments by the Bank; but no new enactments followed which require to be recorded as matter of historical fact. As to the resumption of cash-payments, it afforded a continual subject of discussion between a few gentlemen supposed to be most intimately acquainted with finance; but, as they differed materially in opinion, the public appeared to be very little enlightened by what passed in parliament; and when it was agreed to prolong the period when the Bank should resume its cash-payments, men in trade felt neither alarm nor inconvenience at the delay. 1819.

The state of the criminal law of the country had, during the last parliament, engaged the attention of some gentlemen of great legal knowledge, and was again renewed in the present, but nothing conclusive was agreed upon. The question of the emancipation of the Roman Catholics was again brought forward, and decided in the negative, by a majority of only two in the house of commons, but of forty-one in the house of peers. Other measures of less importance were agitated in this session, but none that were of a perma-

nent nature. The ministers, notwithstanding the clamour raised against them by the seditious orators and societies, and the party-spirit which prevailed among the higher orders, had lost no strength at the last general election. When the leader of the opposition, somewhat prematurely, endeavoured to ascertain this point by what is called a motion on the state of the nation, which is, in general, a bill of indictment against ministers for all their past offences, he was defeated by a majority of 357 against 178.

The parliament was prorogued on July 13. In the speech delivered on this occasion, in person, by the prince regent, his royal highness adverted to the attempts lately made, in the manufacturing districts, to take advantage of circumstances of local distress, to excite a spirit of disaffection to the institutions and government of the country. He expressed, however, his firm determination to employ the powers intrusted to him by law for the preservation of order and tranquillity, and invited the co-operation of the members with the magistracy of their respective counties, in endeavours to defeat the machinations of those, who, under pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of our happy constitution.

This advice was not unnecessary; for, although ministers had repealed the suspension of the habeas corpus act, and were inclined to hold a lenient conduct towards the disaffected, the latter were encouraged by their seducers to construe this into fear, and therefore became more audacious in their proceedings. Their meetings, from day to day, became more alarming, not only as to the numbers assembled, but as to the manner in which they were organized and disciplined, so as to present an appearance highly formidable. In truth, ever since the commencement of the year, the ringleaders of the mobs had been more than usually active in deluding the lower orders, chiefly in the manufacturing districts, and seemed now inclined to an open defiance of all law.

One of their first steps was an application to the magistrates of Manchester to call a meeting for the purpose of petitioning against the corn-bill. On this being

refused, a meeting was called by anonymous advertisements; and, although the language used by the orators at this assembly was violent, no tumult ensued. It afforded, however, a precedent for other meetings, which took place at Leeds, Stockport, Glasgow, &c. On these occasions, the speakers, fancying that they had now overawed the constituted authorities, uttered harangues of the most inflammatory and irritating kind. In one instance, there was some discussion as to whether the people had not a right to destroy the Bank of England, and threats were held out as to the possession of property by the higher orders. These harangues generally concluded with a recommendation to disperse quietly, which, in most cases, was complied with. It was evident, however, that this could not long be the case, and it was equally evident that extraordinary and unprecedented means had been successfully employed to excite the passions of the populace. Lancashire exhibited the unnatural example of *female* reform societies, which entered into violent resolutions, and called upon the wives and daughters of manufacturers to co-operate with the men, and instil into the minds of their children such maxims as "deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers." This, it has been universally allowed, was a feature of the system equally novel and disgusting.

In the mean time, the Birmingham reformers ventured upon an experiment more bold and absurd than any yet attempted. As Birmingham sends no members to parliament, the heads of the reforming party, which met here on July 12th, proposed to elect a member, or what they called "a legislatorial attorney," to represent this great town; and they were to authorise him to go to the house of commons, and demand his seat. What is yet more extraordinary, if it is not to be referred to mental imbecility, a baronet of some family actually agreed to be this member, and to obey the instructions of these constituents. It is supposed that about 15,000 persons concurred in the election, which was to be the model for others, and afforded a most striking proof of the influence which the teachers of sedition had acquired over the weak minds

of the populace. At this point, however, government interfered, and the mock member, and another person, who had made use of seditious expressions, were taken into custody. An atrocious attempt to assassinate the police-officer, by whom these persons had been arrested, occasioned a proclamation to be issued against seditious meetings. This produced but little effect; and, without more vigorous interference, a serious crisis seemed approaching.

Among other places where members were to be elected on the new plan, Manchester was selected as proper for a meeting of the most extensive and formidable kind; but, as the magistrates refused their consent to an illegal purpose, the reformers announced a meeting for the purpose of petitioning for parliamentary reform, under which pretext they well knew they could introduce topics of any other description.

This took place, accordingly, on the 16th of August, and the concourse, as expected, was far greater than on any former occasion. Some estimated the number present at 80,000; but 40,000 was the smallest computation. Nor were the preparations less formidable, or less indicative of mischief, or of a design to intimidate. Some hours before the proceedings were to commence, large bodies began to march in from the neighbouring towns and villages, formed five deep, and preserving a military step. These bodies carried banners with menacing inscriptions, and the whole were graced by two clubs of female reformers. At length one Hunt, who had been repeatedly the favourite orator on such occasions, both in town and country, began a harangue. Before he had made much progress, the corps of Manchester yeomanry advanced to assist the constables in arresting him and other leaders. While performing this service, and afterwards seizing the flags and banners, they met, as is said, with some resistance and insults, which produced a scene of the utmost confusion; many of the mob were wounded, by the trampling of the horses or otherwise, in their eagerness to escape, and four or five persons were killed. In this extremity of confusion, there was little room for observations, and therefore the exact state

of the case, as to the blame on either side, will probably never be ascertained. Many proceedings were afterwards instituted, leading both to enquiry and the punishment of the rioters; but the final issue of these does not come within the compass which we have assigned as the conclusion of this work.

This affair, and some other meetings, which were afterwards held, rendered the assembling of parliament more early than otherwise would have been the case. It met, accordingly, on November 23, and the late proceedings having been laid before the house, and fully examined, certain new measures were proposed as necessary in the actual state of the country, when a conspiracy evidently existed for the subversion of the constitution in church and state, and of the rights of property. These measures were calculated to meet the various means which had been adopted to pervert the minds of the lower classes. One of them was for the more effectual suppression of seditious libels, not only political papers and tracts, but those blasphemous publications by which the country had lately been inundated, and the sale of which seemed to constitute a separate and distinct trade. But the most important regulations now introduced were those which concerned seditious meetings; for from them, after all, the greatest danger was to be apprehended in the present state of the country. In this it was not intended to interfere with the right of subjects to petition the prince regent or parliament, or to meet for the discussion of any grievance under which the people might conceive that they were labouring. No impediment was intended to meetings regularly called by a magistrate; but it was enacted that any parties wishing to meet for the consideration of matters connected with church or state, should notify their intention in a requisition, signed by seven householders: and that it should be illegal for any person, not usually inhabiting the place where the requisition originated, to attend such assembly. Magistrates were to have a power, under certain limitations, of appointing the place and time of meeting. In consequence of the alarming facts respecting preparations for employing illegal force, all

military training was prohibited, except under the authority of a magistrate, or lord-lieutenant of a county. Proof having appeared, that the disaffected were in possession of offensive weapons, magistrates, on evidence affording well-grounded suspicion that arms were collected for seditious purposes, should have the power of seizing them. All these laws, although opposed with much zeal, were carried by very great majorities; and, either through their influence, or the imprisonment of the principal leaders of the tumultuous assemblies, the peace of the country was soon restored.

These were the last acts of the reign of George III, now drawing to a close. About the end of the year it was announced, for the first time, that the bodily
1820. health of the king was affected; and, in the beginning of January, symptoms appeared, which indicated the rapid decay of his constitution. Amidst the anxiety caused by this change, the public mind received a severe shock by the death of the duke of Kent, who expired on the 23d, at Sidmouth, in Devonshire, after a very short illness. The regret excited by the loss of this amiable prince was speedily absorbed in the greater grief occasioned by the tidings from the royal palace at Windsor. On Saturday the 29th, all hopes of the recovery of his majesty were extinguished, and, at thirty-five minutes past eight in the evening, he expired without a struggle.

Thus terminated the reign of George III., after a duration of fifty-nine years, three months, and nine days. On the following day, the lords of the privy council assembled at Carlton-House, the palace of the prince regent, and gave orders for proclaiming his present majesty, GEORGE THE FOURTH, who had for nine years faithfully governed the kingdom in behalf of his royal father.

The reign of George III., as it was the longest, has proved in many respects the most prosperous and glorious in our annals, full, indeed, of vast and alarming vicissitudes, but from which the nation extricated herself with a promptitude and vigour of exertion which proved the superiority and stability of her resources.

If a comparison were formed of the periods which preceded this eventful reign, it would be found, that, amidst many alarms and calamities, there was a gradual progress towards improvement in every attribute of a great and enlightened people, in laws, in government, and in science. And how much these advantages may be traced to the personal character of the sovereign, will form the delightful and successful task of future historians; when the misrepresentations of faction shall be exposed, and the manly, the great, and the good character of our departed sovereign shall be more clearly illustrated, and better understood. The present age has not done justice to his talents or his virtues, his piety towards his God, or his fatherly affection towards his people. In both he conscientiously adhered to the engagements of a decided mind. And, amidst the fluctuating politics of the numerous statesmen who formed his court and his parliament, he was ever steady and consistent in what he conceived, and what he almost lived to prove, was for the best interests of his people. Follow him into private life, as the husband, the father, and the friend, he was perhaps the most amiable man in his dominions: and it was his exemplary conduct in these relations, which endeared him to the good and wise of the nation.

LETTER CXVI.

AFTER having, in these letters, laid before you such a detail of the history of England as may, by dwelling on your memory, give you a correct idea of the whole, and assist you in more extended researches into the transactions of nations and of individuals, I come now, by way of appendix, to lay open to you those stores from which all historians, who are not mere compilers, must borrow the materials of their superstructure. I propose to give you some account of the principal English historians from the earliest times to the present day, with a short character of each. You will, in perusing this, see much reason to admire that Provi-

dence by which we are so excellently provided with records of ages long since past.

The earliest British historian, whose works are now extant, is Gildas, surnamed the Wise, who lived in the sixth century. He wrote a book *De Exidio Britanniæ*, while he resided in France, to which the Britons had retired with their colony. In this book, or letter, as he calls it, much information may be gathered respecting the unhappy state of the Britons at that time. The best edition of it was published by Dr. Gale.

Bede, or Beda, a writer of great renown, flourished in the seventh century. This extraordinary man was born at Yarrow, in the bishopric of Durham. Although much sought after for his learning, he spent most of his time in his cell, where he composed a variety of works, and among them an ecclesiastical history, which contains many particulars of the civil and military history of the Britons and Saxons. If we consider the low state of learning in his time, Beda will appear a prodigy; but it must be allowed that he was not without the failings common in dark ages, and which are peculiarly attached to a monastic life. He was not exempt from credulity and superstition; yet his information was the best that could be procured, and the copiousness of his materials is at once a proof of his various learning, and his indefatigable industry.

Nennius, a monk of the ninth century, left behind him a work entitled *Historia Britonum*.

Jeffery of Monmouth flourished in the time of Henry I., and was the earliest writer of the ancient British history after the conquest. The fictitious ingredients of his history, however, unfortunately predominate, and many able antiquarians consider the whole as a forgery. In his genealogy of the kings of Britain, from the days of Brutus, the pretended son of Æneas, he certainly followed Nennius, whom I have just now mentioned, and who in his history (published by Gale, at Oxford, in 1691) traces this Æneas up to Noah. The authenticity of Jeffery's history has been called in question by Polydore Vergil, and Buchanan, and has been vindicated by Usher, Leland, Rice, and others. The best edition of his history in Latin was published

by Commeline, in 1587. There is an English translation by Thomson, published 1718, with a sensible preface concerning the authority of the history, which may be consulted with advantage.

Caradocus, a Welsh monk, was contemporary with Jeffery of Monmouth, and wrote a treatise of the succession of several petty kings of Wales. This history, which is brought as low as the year 1156, has been translated and published in English by Dr. Powel.

The earliest Saxon history is the Saxon Chronicle, the compilers of which are unknown. It was printed by Abraham Wheelock, at the end of his Bede. It appears to have been enlarged by different hands, as some copies end with the year 977, and others not before 1154.

The history of the reign of the immortal Alfred was written by Asser of St. David, who lived in his court, and who, it is said, persuaded Alfred to found and endow the university of Oxford. His life of Alfred extends only to the forty-fifth year of the life of that prince, and was continued by other hands. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, brought this manuscript first into light: the last edition was published at Oxford in 1772. An Historical Chronicle has likewise been published as the work of Asser, on the authority of Dr. Gale, the celebrated antiquarian.

Of more modern writers, who have thrown light upon the Saxon history, Richard Verstegan may be considered as one of the chief. He was a native of London, and born in the sixteenth century, a man of a very singular character. His principal work is entitled "A Restitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities concerning the most noble and renowned English nation," published in 1605, and often reprinted since. Although not free from mistakes, this is a work of unquestionable authority. The errors have been corrected by Mr. Sheringham, in his Treatise on the Origin of the English Nation; a work peculiarly interesting to those who wish to be acquainted with the earlier Saxon antiquities.

After the conquest, the number of our historians increases. The first in the order of time is Ingulphus

of Croyland, who was born in the year 1030, and made abbot of Croyland, by William the Conqueror, in the year 1076. Of this monastery he wrote a history from the year 664 to 1091, which has been often reprinted since. In his account of Harold he is evidently biassed by his gratitude to William, to whom he lay under many obligations.

The history written by Marianus, a native of Scotland, who lived in the eleventh century, was in considerable estimation. It extends from the birth of Christ to the year 1083, and was continued to 1200 by Dodechin, abbot of St. Dissibode, in the diocese of Treves.

Much use was made of Marianus, by Florentius Bravonius, or Wigorniensis, a monk of Worcester, who lived in the twelfth century. This work was called the Chronicle of Chronicles, and reaches nearly to the time of his death, in 1118, and was continued by another monk to 1163. Florentius wrote also a Treatise on the Royal Family of England.

To the same century belongs an historian of undoubted authority and excellent style, Eadmerus, who wrote the history of William I. and II., and Henry I., in six books; which were partly published by Selden, in 1623. Eadmer excels in the choice and disposal of his materials, and deals less in miracles than any of his predecessors.

Aldretus wrote an abridgment of our history from Brutus to Henry I., which was deservedly brought into notice by Hearne in 1716. Aldretus is particularly attentive to dates and authorities, and, from the elegant conciseness of his style, has been called the English Florus.

William of Malmsbury wrote the history of Saxon kings and bishops before the conquest and after it, concluding with king Stephen. Few authors have had more admirers, and few of early times are quoted oftener by the most fastidious antiquaries.

In the twelfth century, also, we have Simeon of Durham, whose history of the kings of England is not in very high estimation: he continued Bede's history to the year 1130. Simeon was one of the most learned men of his time.

Henry of Huntingdon, so called from being archdeacon of that place, flourished in the same century. He wrote a history of England, which is frequently consulted by modern historians. The arrangement, however, is not convenient, nor have the materials been gathered with much care and accuracy. Sir Henry Saville published this work in 1596.

William of Newbery's history begins at the death of Henry I., and is carried on to the year 1197. In the early part of it he refutes the fabulous whims of Jeffery of Monmouth. His style is much admired.

Gervase of Tilbury, an Englishman, made considerable additions to the histories of his country. All that is extant, however, begins with the year 1112, and ends with the death of Richard I. From the method and judgment displayed in this specimen, it is to be regretted that the whole work was not preserved.

Roger de Hoveden was one of the principal historians of the thirteenth century. He wrote a Chronicle of England from where Beda left off, down to the fourth year of king John. Sir Henry Saville published this work in 1601.

Matthew Paris in all respects claims the attention of modern historians. He was a Benedictine monk of St. Alban, and one of the greatest ornaments of the thirteenth century. In point of learning, industry, and candour, he outstripped all his contemporaries. The vigour of his mind, great for the age in which he lived, could not exceed the courage with which he told unwelcome truths. His history consists of two parts; the first extends from the creation of the world to William the conqueror; the second, from William to the year 1250. A monk of the same monastery continued it to the death of Henry III. Paris's Latin is excellent. The best edition of this history was published in 1640, by Dr. Watts.

Thomas Wikes, an Augustine canon, regular of Osney, Oxfordshire, wrote a history which is much esteemed for its clearness and fullness. Commencing with William I., he goes on nearly to the end of Edward I., in 1306. It was published by Dr. Gale.

Nicholas Trivet and Roger Cestrensis contributed also pretty largely to the history of this period. Their works were never printed, but have been often consulted in the Merton college and Harleian libraries, where they are deposited.

About this time, Selden thinks, John Brompton lived, the author of a useful chronicle, which goes under his name. It begins at the year 588, when Augustin, the monk, came to England, and ends at the death of Richard I., 1198. There are doubts, however, of his being really the author of this chronicle. It is not a little indebted to Hoveden, but is in itself chiefly valuable on account of its containing a translation of the Saxon laws into English, and being very copious on the Saxon affairs.

From the chronicle of Walter Hemingford, a canon of Gisborough abbey in Yorkshire, we learn some particulars of the reign of Edward III. It was published by Gale, who gives such an account of Hemingford as he could procure.

The Polychronicon of Ralph Higden, a monk of Chester, is chiefly compilation. Many objections have been made to him: but Dr. Gale, who published the most valuable part of it, commends him for rescuing from oblivion many remains of ancient chronicles.

John, vicar of Tynmouth, and Matthew of Westminster, were useful collectors of the labours of others. The works of the latter were continued by Adam Merimuth to the year 1380. Adam began his continuation at Michaelmas, and for that reason, if it may be called a reason, he always afterward begins the new year at that feast.

The last historian of note in the fourteenth century was Henry Knighton, canon of Leicester. He begins with Edgar, and ends at the death of Richard II. He copies considerably from Ralph de Higden, and candidly owns it.

In the fifteenth century, we have sir John Froissart, a learned man. He was born at Valenciennes about the year 1337. His chronicle comprehends the affairs of France, England, and Spain, but chiefly England, from the year 1326 to 1400. He was indefatigable

in collecting, and careful in admitting only what he could ascertain to be fact. The manners of the times are very faithfully described. An English edition (the original is in French) was published by Sir John Bouchier, deputy of Calais, at the command of king Henry VIII., at the latter end of his reign. Sleidan epitomized it, but rather partially. Engueran de Monstrelet continued sir John's work to 1467. Of both Froissart and Monstrelet, we have excellent editions in English, published by the late Mr. Johnes.

In this dark and ignorant century we have few historians of eminence. Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban, deserves to be mentioned as no inconsiderable benefactor. His *short history* begins at the conclusion of Henry the third's reign, where Matthew Paris ends, and continues to the end of Henry V. His reign of Edward II., however, is almost entirely borrowed from Thomas la More. Walsingham's history was published by archbishop Parker, in 1574.

William Caxton, the first who introduced the art of printing with fusil types into England, contributed also to the history of his country by a work called *Fructus Temporum*, which, he says, he lighted upon in Latin, and continued in English. It commences with the first inhabitants of the island, and ends with the death of Edward IV., in 1483. Much useful information may be found in this work, as Caxton was indefatigable in his researches.

LETTER CXVII.

By the invention of printing, books of all kinds multiplied fast, and we here take our leave of the age of manuscripts. The sixteenth century presents us with many historians of note, whose labours were greatly facilitated by the ease with which copies could now be multiplied.

Among the first is Robert Fabian, a merchant and alderman of the city of London, and a person of very

considerable learning. His work was entitled the Chronicle of England and France, or Concordance of Stories, beginning with Brutus, and ending in 1504, the 20th year of Henry VIII. His account of London is very full, and he has indeed collected a mass of information, much of which is not to be found in any former work. It is no small proof of his candour and his consequence with the public, that he had the honour to excite the jealousy of Cardinal Wolsey, who caused as many copies of this book as he could find to be burnt, because Fabian had disclosed many particulars of the large revenues of the clergy.

Polydore Vergel, or Virgil, an author of great genius and learning, is to be ranked among the English historians, although a native of Urbino in Italy. He was sent into England by pope Alexander VI., to collect the peter-pence. His History of England was written at the command of Henry VII., and extends into the reign of Henry VIII., to whom it was dedicated; a circumstance which brought upon him the suspicion of partiality. His account of the Reformation is certainly to be read with caution, and throughout the whole work he does not seem to have risen superior to those prejudices which the bigotry of his religion and times too often fostered and countenanced. His Lives of Edward IV. and V. are principally valuable, as they are original.

Ralph Holingshead was the editor of a voluminous chronicle, which is still in much reputation. He was assisted by William Harrison, Richard Stanihurst, and others. The second edition of this work was continued to the year 1586, by John Hooper, *alias* Vowell. The reader will find an immense store of anecdote in those volumes, although the style is poor: the authors were men of mere labour.

The first writer worthy of notice in the seventeenth century, was the famous antiquary John Stow, a tailor of London, but whose taste in antiquities diverted him from every other pursuit. The greatest part of his life was spent in making preparations for a Chronicle of England, in which he was liberally encouraged by archbishop Parker. His works are deservedly held in

esteem, as he was accurate even to a degree of fastidiousness; and Bacon and Camden have borrowed from him, as an author of undoubted veracity. Edward Howe continued and revised his Chronicle, and considerably improved the arrangement.

But the most complete Chronicle extant is that of John Speed, who, like Stow, was bred a tailor. His work begins with the first inhabitants of the island, and extends to the time of James I., to whom it was dedicated. It is said of him, that he had a head the best disposed towards history of any of our writers, and would certainly have outdone himself as far as he has gone beyond the rest of his profession, if the advantages of his education had been answerable to those of his natural genius. And it has been asked, What can be expected of a tailor? As much certainly as of any other mechanic. His being a tailor did not unfit him for being an historian; but his want of education prevented the exertion of his talents at that age when they are most vigorous.

Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle, although a favourite at the time of publication, is, in many respects, very erroneous. It commences with the time of the Roman government, and ends at the death of king James I. It was afterward continued by Edward Philips to the Restoration: but the continuation abounds in misrepresentations and prejudice. The errors of Baker and his continuator were afterward pointed out by Thomas Blount, esq. in a work called 'Animadversions,' &c. printed in 1672; but in no edition of Baker has any notice been taken of this work.

Clarendon's History of the Rebellion is a work of great value and authority: it is necessary, however, to compare it with Ludlow's Memoirs, and Whitlocke's Memorials of English affairs. Clarendon's style is far from being unexceptionable; yet he is the first of our historians who essayed to clothe his events in the garb of dignity; and in his delineation of characters he is particularly eminent.

Burnet's History of his own Times has divided the opinions of political critics. To me it appears that his partialities have been condemned with too great se-

verity: and there are many modern writers who indulge in vague censure of his work, while, at the same time, they cannot conceal the obligations they owe to him. He had the best opportunities of acquiring information, and he neglected none. His errors are common to other historians; and he always seems to have aimed at truth, and related it to the best of his knowledge. His history is, upon the whole, replete with entertainment and information: if you wish to know the controversy kept up concerning him, I must refer you to his Life, in the Biographia Britannica; an article drawn up with wonderful candour, accuracy, and critical discrimination.

Before mentioning more modern and general histories, it is necessary to add, that we have many single reigns written with great care, and which show considerable powers of investigation. Such are the Life of William the Conqueror, by William of Poictiers; of Richard II., by Thomas de la More; of Henry V., by Titus Livius; of Edward IV., by Haddington; of Edward V., by Thomas More; of Henry VII., by sir Francis Bacon; of Henry VIII., by lord Herbert of Cherbury; and others. In the perusal of these, you will have to encounter some prejudices, but much useful matter is contained in them.

Of general histories, the most copious and, in many respects, the best comes from the pen of Rapin de Thoyras, a Frenchman. His faithful adherence to authorities, his impartiality, and the plenitude of his materials, render this work truly valuable, as in itself containing an historical library. It was successfully continued to the reign of George II., by Mr. Nicholas Tindall, assisted by Mr. Morant, and has been often reprinted.

Of Hume, Smollet, Robertson, Henry, and others, it is not necessary to give a particular character. They have rescued history from being a narration of insipid facts, and have given a rationality to the subject, which is the true business of an historian. They are certainly not entirely free from prejudices, nor are political prejudices easily avoided by the best of men. That of Hume I think the most dangerous: his poli-

tics may be forgiven; but he misses no opportunity to represent religion in an unfavourable light; and superficial readers have imbibed from him a greater contempt for religion, than perhaps it was his intention to instil.

The importance of the study of history has already been explained to you; and as you have, no doubt, now acquired a general idea of the history of England, you must be aware that there are some periods of it more important than others. There are some which deserve our attentive investigation. The effects of certain events, of ages long ago past, yet remain; and it is necessary that we should trace them to their origin, and discover whether such usages or institutions were founded on principle, or arose from chance or conquest. There is a mixture of both in the political history of all nations, but especially in that of a nation of free and thinking men. After studying the rise and decrease of the feudal system, you will naturally wish to trace the rise and increase of the popular branch of government; the various struggles for power that convulsed the nation through the greater part of the seventeenth century; and the happy termination of these by the Revolution.

Upon the whole, History, when studied with the honest view of investigating truth, and making ourselves wiser and happier by improving upon the experience of past ages, will be found one of the noblest employments of an exalted mind. The imagination will be no less amused, than the understanding ripened and perfected. The conduct of human affairs will often, it is true, appear confused and unaccountable; but, if considered as a part of some grand design of the Parent of the universe to promote human happiness, you will be ready to acknowledge, that the vices and miseries with which history abounds, bear no greater proportion to goodness and happiness than sickness does to health. If History seem terrible, because it is a record chiefly of what is evil and destructive, let it be remembered, that it can consist of no other materials. The still life of society may be celebrated by the poet; but the historian can catch only the promi-

nent features of war and turbulence; and it is indeed from these that our instruction arises. "He," says an illustrious writer, "who studies history as he would philosophy, will distinguish and collect certain principles, and rules of life and conduct, which must always be true; because they are conformable to the invariable nature of things; and, by doing so, he will soon form to himself a system of ethics and politics, on the surest foundations, on the trial of these principles and rules in all ages, and on the confirmation of them by universal experience."

THE END.

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